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ABSTRACT

Discussing the interrelationship of universal adult suffrage and adult education, this national seminar in India sought to identify the basic values, requirements, and problems of parliamentary democracy, together with consequences of adult suffrage and the potential contribution of adult education to improving the quality of the democratic process. The inaugural address provided a world perspective on, and a philosophical analysis of, problems in education for democratic living. The director's working paper stressed the need for universal adult education, while the President's paper stressed the needs of the age group 15-45. Other papers dealt with the need to develop enlightened public consciousness; discussed the nature of this consciousness; and offered suggestions for a national plan of adult education for parliamentary democracy. Several recommendations on program planning and administrative organization were also presented. (LY)

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ADULT EDUCATION FOR PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

INDIAN ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

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ADULT EDUCATION
FOR
PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Report of The Sixteenth
NATIONAL SEMINAR, PONDICHERRY
December 26-29, 1968

INDIAN ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
17-B. INDRAPRASTHA MARG
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Delegates of the Seminar

PREFACE

The 16th National Seminar on "Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy" held along with the 22nd All India Adult Education Conference will be remembered for a long time for the leadership it enjoyed. The Director of the Seminar, Dr. L.M. Singhvi, provided a type of leadership rarely available in the country these days. The presence of Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, Deputy Director-General, UNESCO, throughout the Seminar provided the needed guidance ; his inaugural address served as a reference material for the Seminar. Of course, Dr. M.S. Mehta always there to provide us the needed inspiration.

The presidential address of the Lt. Governor of Pondicherry, Shri B.D. Jatti, was very thought-provoking. The Association is grateful to them and we take this opportunity to express our gratitude and thanks to all of them.

The Seminar was divided into five groups each with a Chairman and a Rapporteur. The Group leaders performed their functions very ably. The standard of discussion was very high. The group reports were very well drafted. This helped in the framing of the recommendations and the report of the Director. The recommendations of the Seminar were very timely and realistic. The recommendation regarding the establishment of a National Authority for Adult Education will go a long way in developing enlightened political consciousness in this country. The establishment of an institute or centre for Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy is a welcome recommendation and needs to be pursued with vigour.

We are very thankful to the Pondicherry Administration, especially Shrimati Anjani Dayanand, Chief Secretary, Sarvshri J.A. Ryan, and B.Douressamy, Director and Dy. Director of Public Instruction and D.J. Reddy, Principal, Jawaharlal Institute of Post Graduate Medical Education and Research for their cooperation and assistance for the conduct of the Seminar.

The report of the Seminar is being presented to adult educators and intellectuals of the country in the hope that it will be able to mobilise enlightened public opinion for creating a machinery to educate our voters so that democracy may thrive and prosper in the country.

Shafiq Memorial
17-B, Indraprastha Marg,
New Delhi.
January 26, 1969.

S.C. DUTTA
Hony. General Secretary,
Indian Adult Education Association,

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

Dr. L.M. Singhvi

I have great pleasure in presenting the report of the 16th National Seminar on Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy, held in Pondicherry from December 26 to 29. It was gratifying to witness the deliberations of the Seminar and the participation of as many as 96 delegates from 14 different States of the Indian Union. The participants came from variety of backgrounds and avocations and brought to bear upon the discussions their practical experience of Adult Education at different levels, spread over various departments and echelons of the Government and academic institutions and voluntary Associations. I think we can claim that the level and quality of discussions was as satisfying as the earnestness of the participants in their concern for Adult Education was edifying. I am particularly grateful to Dr. M.S. Mehta, President of the Indian Adult Education Association at whose behest I agreed to direct the Seminar and who along with Dr. Adiseshiah and Mr. J.C. Mathur, has contributed greatly to the sense of purpose and direction in our discussions.

The Seminar was inaugurated by Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah on the 26th December, 1968. Dr. Adiseshiah's inaugural address brought to us a world perspective and profound philosophical analysis of the problems of the modern man and more particularly of the problems confronting contemporary India. He explained that there was no automatic correlation between education and freedom or between Adult Education and Parliamentary Democracy. But at the same time he said that Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy is an educational style of living, of living democratically, which involves family, the school, the work and leisure time institutions and the society generally. Democratic living also involves the participation of the citizen as a voter, as member of the party and as an office-holder, and the performance of all these roles postulate dialogue, discussions and decision making. He called upon the participants to examine the extent to which different social institutions are based on democratic values and the extent and manner in which the citizen participates in decision making. Dr. Adiseshiah emphasised that education bears the major responsibility for overcoming political apathy. He added that civic education can be a fall out or a feed-back in all our programmes.

Shri B.D. Jatti, the Lt. Governor of Pondicherry emphasised in his presidential address that education of adults was essential for the successful working of democratic government. He was of the view that the education of the adults would be an important factor in the social progress of the country. He felt that adult education for parliamentary democracy would enable us to develop into a dynamic modern society.

In my address which was based on the working paper which had already been circulated to all the participants in advance, I had endeavoured to show that adult franchise was inextricably intertwined with adult education. The founding fathers of the Indian Constitution gave to us universal adult suffrage, it was their act of faith. We can make that faith come alive only by democratic education of the vast populace of India. At the outset I placed before the Seminar five major aspects of the subject for their consideration, *viz.*

(1) Inter-relationship of Universal Adult Suffrage and Adult Education ;

(2) Adult Education for Development and Democracy ;

(3) The Magnitude of the task and the experience of the past ;

(4) Mechanics, methods and media for Adult Education for Social Responsibility, Citizenship and Democracy ; and

(5) A National Plan for Adult Education for Social Responsibility, Citizenship and Democracy and a National Authority for Adult Education.

The Seminar has held 6 plenary sessions in addition to the inaugural and valedictory sessions. The sixth session of the Seminar was set apart for finalisation of the report. At each of the five plenary sessions, we started by elucidating one of the five themes and stating the major issues. This was designed to provide guidelines for group discussions. The participants of the Seminar were divided into 5 discussion groups, each of which had a Chairman and a Rapporteur. Each plenary session was devoted to the elucidation of the main theme of the discussion intended for that session and to clarifications on questions from participants. The reports of all the groups were also placed before the participants in the plenary sessions and they were adopted after discussions. This procedure enabled each of the participants in the Seminar to contribute to its proceedings and to consider the main issues. At the plenary sessions, we were able to demarcate the subject sharply as also to discuss the assumptions and implications of some of the the main propositions set forth in the working paper. While the plenary session provided a pooling device to bring together a number of different ideas and approaches, the group discussions provided opportunities for exchanging notes, arguments, and experiences on each one of the given issues. I should like to express my appreciation to the chairmen and the rapporteurs of the groups for their painstaking work and cohesive leadership, which made the task considerably easy. This report is broadly based on the working paper in the light of the reports of the five groups on all the five different subjects.

Discussing the inter-relationship of universal adult suffrage and adult education the Seminar sought to identify the basic values, requirements and realities of parliamentary democracy. The Seminar also took into consideration the consequences of adult suffrage and the contributions which adult education can make to the improvement of the quality of the democratic process.

It was felt that the basic values of democracy include the following in particular :

(*i*) Belief in the dignity of the individual, the sanctity (sacredness) of the human personality and the equality of individual rights;

(*ii*) Belief in the inherent capacity of the individual for growth and development and to take care of his affairs, to understand and participate in local, national and international affairs;

(*iii*) A sense of integrity and respect for the democratic institutions ;

(*iv*) Openness of mind, belief in the emergence of truth after a rational discussion of a problem, faith in compromise and democratic methods of consultation and discussion for a fair and rational resolution of conflicts ;

(*v*) Belief in the rights and obligations of the electorate;

(*vi*) Acceptance of the majority decision by the minority ;

(*vii*) Acceptance of a minority's right to propagate its views without endangering national security. This refers only to rights of racial, religious and linguistic minorities. Indeed in a democracy there can be no permanent political majorities or minorities.

The Seminar was of the view that democracy implies mutual understanding, tolerance and democratic participation. It was felt that the values of democracy must find expression in different institutions and behaviour patterns. Thus, for instance, a community, which comprises of many minorities, languages and religions must necessarily promote a secular outlook and maintain the fundamental rights of the individual.

Democracy is a way of life which seeks to ensure equality of opportunity and dignity of the individual. Democratic process requires that all those who participate in it should be willing to follow the rules of the game, to listen to various points of view, to give a fair opportunity to the opponent, to raise issues through constitutional methods, to accept the judgment of the majority even if it is adverse, to have a healthy respect for authority created by democratic institutions and to adhere to the rule of law. It was argued that these were essentially middle class values which seemed to be threatened by an enlargement of the power-structure and by the inclusion of the representatives of different classes of people in the political elite of the country. The Seminar felt that these values might have originated in a particular kind of environment but had been universalised and socialised. It was pointed out that in many countries of the world, for example, in the United Kingdom and in Scandinavian countries, these values of democracy were fully embraced and endorsed by the working classes and their representatives. These values pre-suppose a basic faith in the elective and representative institutions and in the process of consent and consultation as the basis of government, in the basic right of the individual and the framework of the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary and the neutrality of the civic service, equality before the laws as well as equal protection of laws. The Constitution of India is founded on these values and it is our duty as citizens of India to ensure that the constitutional concepts in our democratic framework are translated into reality.

The Seminar considered the consequences of the democracy, and particularly, the consequences of the introduction of adult suffrage in India. It was felt that traditional values of tolerance reinforced the values of democracy, while many other traditional values and customs, came in sharp conflict with the values of democracy enshrined in the Indian Constitution. The Seminar considered the emergence of influential groups and the role of caste and similar other factors in the working of our democracy. No doubt, the caste was a factor of social fragmentation, but at the same time it was also a lever in the hands of the weaker sections of the society. The adult suffrages had given a sense of power and participation to the masses; it had given them opportunities for critical evaluation and self expression. At the same time it might be partially responsible for a measure of indiscipline and lack of respect for authority. In the past, democracy was often portrayed in idealistic terms, the rough and tumble of democratic politics had exposed the seamy side of parliamentary democracy, leading to a sense of disillusionment. The task of adult education for parliamentary democracy is to transmit a burning faith in the basic values of democracy, and to inculcate an unflinching adherence to the requirements of the democratic process; it should bring about a realistic appraisal of democratic politics and its problems and should develop capacity and skill to collect, interpret and evaluate information at different levels.

Adult education for parliamentary democracy must aim at securing the fullest participation of the community and all its sections. Such participation means that all those who are eligible must be on the electoral rolls, that all those who are on the electoral rolls must as far as possible exercise their franchise, and those who exercise their franchise should do so after a full understanding and evaluation of the issues and individuals involved. Adult education for parliamentary democracy should also build public opinion against the abuse of the electoral process. Adult education for parliamentary democracy cannot, however, confine itself merely to the education of the voter to enable him to exercise his franchise; it should also extend to the task of creating in him a sustained interest in public affairs at all levels. The existence of such interest on the part of voters and the existence of an active public opinion on different issues would improve the quality of the accountability of elected representatives to the people. It is essential that such public interest and public opinion should be responsible and should be based on thoughtful study and reflection, because otherwise there are certain dangers in the high degree of politicisation which may discourage the best minds in the society from coming forward to participate in public life.

The Seminar was of the view that adult education for parliamentary democracy is necessary not only for the illiterate, the semi-literate or the relatively less educated, but that it was essential for the entire citizenry. In particular, the Seminar felt that emphasis should be laid on the education of legislators, caders at different levels, civil services and professional men and women in the basic tenets of parliamentary democracy.

The second item of discussion before the Seminar was adult education for development and democracy. The Seminar felt that development meant growth as well as change and noted that in the past emphasis has been placed on development and not so much on social change. The true connotation embraced social, political, moral and economic aspects of development. It was felt that adult education for development and democracy was an integral concept and that development and democracy must necessarily go hand in hand.

The Seminar endorsed the view expressed in the working paper that it is in the attitudes and minds of men that social revolution has to be brought about and that adult education for democracy would foster economic dynamism, augment productivity and secure all-round development. It was also the consensus of the Seminar that adult education for democracy, citizenship and social responsibility should keep pace with adult education for transfer of technology and vocational skills to the fields and factories. Adult education could contribute to mass participation and involvement in developmental tasks. It is true that democracy may at times incite divisive feelings and fissiparous tendencies, but in the long run it could build an enduring foundation for national development, socio-economic reconstruction and emotional integration. There was no inherent incompatibility between parliamentary democracy and economic development, and a properly organised system of parliamentary democracy could contribute positively to accelerate economic growth and social change. Adult education for democracy can raise the common denominator. It will also enrich social, cultural and political life, reflecting the aspirations and needs of the people. Adult education for democracy would be a sound investment for development and could also help to soften the stresses and strains of the revolution of rising expectations by injecting realism into our democratic politics and by showing the way for organised effort towards moral and material social progress. It was felt that the democratic process may be somewhat time-consuming, but it is not necessarily less efficient. The defects and short-comings of our present situation are not inherent and inevitable in the democratic process.

In its third session, the Seminar discussed the magnitude of the task of Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy and the experience of the past. Doubtless the task is herculean because Adult Education for Democracy and citizenship would have to embrace the whole of the population of India at different levels. It would require skillfully worked out programme in a number of languages for different regions in the country and would necessitate an enormous deployment of manpower. It would require great dedication, commitment, public enthusiasm and faith. Efforts in this direction have been made from time to time but their scope was limited and the impact have not proved to be lasting.

The community development programmes were frequently unable to graduate beyond the level of elementary entertainment and agricultural extension. Training programmes have fared somewhat better. It is necessary to recast our Community Development Programmes for rural and urban areas into well proportioned and integrated programmes which should be implemented in a sustained manner. Particular emphasis should be laid on the civic education of adult women. Similar programmes for leadership training at different levels covering leaders, civil servants, office-bearers in Panchayati Raj institutions and professional men and women are equally necessary.

The Seminar felt that Adult Education for Democracy would help to promote rapid growth and would provide quick and concrete pay-off in terms of motivation and commitment.

In view of the limited resources and in the context of the collosal requirement, it was felt that the main effort should be concentrated on the working population. A view was also expressed on the basis of practical considerations that the age group should include all those who come within the ages of

14 and 45. While it was felt that the task of Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy requires a degree of professionalisation, the Seminar was of the view that the training course could be provided for students, teachers and others to enable them to participate in the programme of imparting of Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy. It was suggested that a suitable manual should be prepared for prospective instructors. The Seminar also came to the conclusion that the teaching and reading materials should be put together in an imaginative way in order to overcome the indifference of prospective beneficiaries, local leaders as well as instructors. The Seminar was of the view that the contents and curriculum of the programme must be drawn up carefully and after a detailed consideration. The contents and curriculum of a programme of Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy would have to be worked out for different groups in different ways. Our aim should be not to put the programmes in a strait jacket but to ensure the observance of certain common standards and quality control. It was felt that Experts on Adult Education techniques and on the subject of Parliamentary Democracy should combine their skills and expertise to design an appropriate programme of Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy for different groups at different levels. In this task the Universities could contribute in a substantial way.

The Seminar felt that it could only list some of the topics which deserve to be included in such programmes, but that such a list would merely be illustrative and not exhaustive. Moreover, in preparing materials in consonance with such a list of topics, we should seek to press into service the best available skills in communication based on the customs, traditions and the folk literature in different regions of the country. The programmes of Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy should include—

(*a*) Historical information of the Indian Freedom movement ;

(*b*) Advent of modern Parliamentary Democracy in India ;

(*c*) The essentials of the Indian Constitution including the machinery of political organisation, electoral system, duties and the obligations of citizens, fundamental rights of the individual and the judicial system ;

(*d*) India—India's Role in the World,

It should also include a discussion on the conduct of meetings and group discussions, as well as their procedural requirements. Such a curriculum should also include a discussion of the words and terms used in explaining the constitution of the Parliamentary Democracy. Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy should seek to inculcate emotional integration, national unity and patriotism and love for the country. It should also include some instruction in running co-operatives, Panchayati Raj institutions and party organisations based on certain common norms and behaviour.

The Seminar considered the methods and media of Adult Education for social responsibility, citizenship and democracy in its 4th Plenary Session. There was common ground that extensive use of the media of mass-communication and particularly of audio-visual methods was the need of the hour. The Seminar endorsed the view expressed in the working paper for local broadcasting on an extensive scale and felt that its use should be instituted and encouraged for adult education generally in order to cover each and every district in the country. The Seminar also accepted the suggestions that atleast one channel should be reserved on the entire net work in the country for entrusting an imaginative programme of Adult Education. The Seminar agreed that the Television is a powerful and persuasive media and we should establish Television Centres subject to the availability of resources. The question of cost should be gone into by an Expert Body. We should have an extensive net work of Television covering the bulk of the country. The Television and its magic impact could be used effectively for advancement of functional literacy, for promoting national integration and for inculcating the fundamental values of democracy. It should, however, be borne in mind that programmes on the television should be carefully planned and imaginatively produced with the assistance of those well-versed in communication skills and adult education techniques. Adequate provision should also be made for community viewing as well as for maintenance and repairs of television sets. In addition to radio, and television, films, film strips, slides, local group meetings and other educative programmes of entertainments such as *keertans*, *bhajans*, folk songs, *yatras*, puppets, *kathas*, plays, dramas, exhibition etc. could provide useful aids for educational programmes, if creatively and imaginatively employed. Similarly Universities, Colleges, Vidyapeeths and Schools must invariably be involved in this field.

The Seminar has stressed that a special attention should be given to the provision of the highest quality of suitable leadership, reading and teaching materials and other programmes serving as visual aids for adult education and this should be accorded the highest priority and importance. Equally important is the task of preparing a cadre of professional and voluntary workers and imparting to them adequate training for the purpose.

The 5th Plenary Session started with the elucidation of the idea of a National Plan for Adult Education for social responsibility, citizenship and democracy and the proposal for the establishment of a National Commission or Authority for supervising and administering a comprehensive National Plan of Adult Education. It was felt that the responsibility for Adult Education was at present divided between different ministries, departments and agencies. It was necessary to secure coordination in the field of adult education as a whole. It was necessary that Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy should be free from all partisanship and should be above any suspicion. In order to keep Adult Education for democracy out of party politics, in order to evolve an integrated plan for Adult Education in different fields and for different purposes and in order to secure coordination and quality control, a National Authority under an Act of Parliament would be an effective and useful institutional device. The National Authority or Commission could be constituted under an Act of Parliament and if necessary initiated by an appropriate resolution in the Council of States and could function somewhat on the same lines as the University Grants Commission. The function of the proposed commission would be to grant subventions and to supervise and to evaluate programmes of general Adult Education including programmes of Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy. The National Authority or the Adult Education Commission should also be entrusted with the task of sponsoring research, while functioning as a clearing house of ideas of adult education and commissioning pilot projects and other experiments in the field of Adult Education. The suggestion for an annual budget of Rs. 5 crores was accepted for this project and it was considered that this matter should also be a matter of study by the National Authority. The National Authority should be autonomous and should be free from governmental control in its working. It should have the sanction and support of the Parliament behind it and its annual reports should be laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament. While the National Authority would be at the apex of the institutional structure, there should be state level boards in every state for implementing and supervising Adult Education programmes within its jurisdiction. There should also be committees at the districts and Panchayat Samiti levels. Both at the level of the National Authority and at the level of the State Boards, there should be Advisory Committees on which different political parties in the Legislature should be represented. These Advisory Boards should also include other interests. The State Boards should be constituted by the National Authority or the Commission in consultation with the State Governments as well as different interests and institutions involved in the Adult Education programmes. The State Boards should be subject to the supervision and directions of the National Authority.

While the National Authority as proposed alone could become a focal point for an organised and massive effort in the field of adult education, it was felt that the Indian Adult Education Association should seek to bring together on a common platform all the existing agencies involved in the work of Adult Education at present.

The Seminar noted that the work of orientation for Legislators had already been undertaken by the Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies. This was welcomed and applauded by the Seminar. It was, however, emphasised that the Indian Adult Education Association should establish an institute or a centre for Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy with the assistance of universities, Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies and other appropriate bodies in order to give further momentum to the work of Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy.

While the National Authority should coordinate the implementation of the national plan throughout the country, there should be sufficient scope for innovation and improvisation in the programmes and the choice and use of media and methods.

Before I conclude the Report, I would like to say that the Seminar has served a far reaching national purpose in discussing the profound relevance of Adult Education to the working of Parliamentary Democracy and to the dissemination of the values underlying it. The Seminar has also responded to the enormous challenge of what is seen in developing nations as an inextricable problem by deliviating practical change and viable programme of action. I hope that in the coming years, it would be given to us to witness a steady and reassuring implementation of the basic ideas which have emerged at the National Seminar.

I am grateful to all the participants for their unfailing courtesy and considerations; to the Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the Groups, for their valuable co-operation and to the President and office-bearers of the Indian Adult Education Association for inviting me to associate myself with the work of the Seminar.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Seminar recommends that adult education for parliamentary democracy is necessary not only for the illiterate, the semi-literate or the relatively less educated but is essential for the entire citizenry. Particular emphasis should be laid on the education of legislators, cadres at different levels, civil services and professional men and women in the basic tenets of parliamentary democracy.

2. The Seminar is of the view that the task of adult education for parliamentary democracy requires a degree of professionalisation and so the training should be provided to students, teachers and others to enable them to participate in the programme of adult education for parliamentary democracy. Experts on techniques of adult education and the subject of parliamentary democracy should combine their skills and expertise to design an appropriate programme of adult education for parliamentary democracy for different groups at different levels. In this task the Universities should contribute in a substantial way.

3. The Seminar is of the view that extensive use of the media of mass-communication and particularly of audio-visual methods was the need of the hour. Television is a powerful and persuasive medium and an extensive net work of Televisions should be set up in the country subject to the availability of resources.

4. The Seminar recommends that a national autonomous Authority or Commission under the Act of Parliament should be constituted. The function of the proposed commission should be to grant subventions, to supervise and to evaluate programmes of general adult education including programmes of adult education for parliamentary democracy. The National authority or the Commission should also be entrusted with the task of sponsoring research while functioning as a clearing house of ideas on adult education and commissioning pilot projects and other experiments in the field of adult education. An annual budget of Rupees five crores is initially suggested for the purpose.

While the National Authority would be at the apex of the institutional structure, there should be state level boards in every state for implementing and servicing adult education programmes within their jurisdiction. There should also be committees at the district and panchayat samiti levels.

5. The Seminar recommends that the Indian Adult Education Association should establish an institute or a centre for adult education for parliamentary democracy in order to give further momentum to the work of adult education for parliamentary democracy. The institute or the centre should have an advisory body for the formulation of the programme content and suggesting areas and methods for the conduct of the programmes.

The programmes of the institute or centre should be:

(*i*) the organisation of correspondence courses for various groups of citizens interested in civic education;

(*ii*) organisation of study camps or extension lectures for civic education;

(*iii*) production of reading material simple in language but mature in thought content; and

(*iv*) the organisation of short term credit courses for different interest groups.

WORKING PAPER

Dr. L.M. Singhvi

Adult suffrage is inextricably intertwined with adult education. If the adoption of adult suffrage as the foundation of India's democratic polity was an act of faith, it is the democratic education of the vast populace of India which alone can make that faith come alive.

Writing in his monumental work, *Asian Drama*, Gunnar Myrdal has observed that so far as the spread of literacy, vocational skills and rationalized attitude is concerned, a broad basis can be established most rapidly by adult education. He goes on to say that the quest for rapid development requires a well-proportioned and integrated educational programme including a massive programme of adult education. He has pointed out that adult education could have an immediate impact on development and should therefore be accorded high priority[1].

Universal adult franchise without universal adult education is an anomaly. Modernisation requires literacy and education as a pre-condition. Democracy based on adult suffrage postulates that the democratic process is based on the understanding of the basic issues by the electorate. A largely uneducated and iliterate electorate poses far-reaching social and political problems in the working of democracy, because the masses of the people are unable to participate in the process of government in a meaningful way. It appears axiomatic that both for rapid development and for the proper functioning of the democratic process, adult education is indispensable and that adult education should be oriented to promote democracy and development.

Democracy is by definition a government of the people, and this means that the people must contribute both through the electoral process and by intelligent, articulate opinion to the task of exercising political options. The functioning of the democratic government can neither be confined to an articulate elite or an organised group of politically, socially or financially influential individuals. In order that democracy may establish the rule of law and may secure the fundamental freedoms of its citizens while advancing their social and economic welfare, the citizenry of a democratic country should know how to exercise their rights and to discharge their obligations. Equally important is the emotional commitment of the citizens to the underlying values of the democratic way of life. It has been appropriately said that freedom and free institutions cannot long be maintained by any people who do not understand the nature of their own government. While the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution inaugurated an era of universal adult franchise, we have not as a nation redeemed our pledge to educate the people of India for the tasks of democratic self-government. It is true that the task was herculean, but the difficulty and the magnitude of the task does not provide us with an *alibi* for indifference and inertia. Gunnar Myrdal has discussed at length the question of adult education in the developing countries of the world and has come to conclusion that adult education has not been given a prominent place in the plans for educational reform in the South Asian countries. Referring to India, he says :

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[1] See generally Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama*—An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations, Vol. III, Chapter 32.

> "In India it was claimed that 50·8% of the adult attending literacy courses during the school year 1958-59 learnt to read and write; these new literates constituted 0·7% of the illiterate population over 15 years of age as far as males were concerned and under 0·1% in the case of females. It is doubtful whether most of these persons derived any lasting benefit from their studies."[2]

It has to be remembered that adult education for parliamentary democracy is not to be mistaken for adult education generally. Adult education for democracy and for parliamentary institutions means specialized education, it means continuing and further adult education. It implies first a basic comprehension of the idea of society, political organisation, institutional concepts such as Parliament, State Assembly, Panchayat Raj institutions and an understanding of how the democratic process is supposed to serve the common man and the commonweal. Adult education for parliamentry democracy means that it should inculcate a basic faith in the minds of the people in the values of democracy and should impart an understanding of the basic rights and obligations of citizenship in a parliamentary democratic system. In ideal terms, the curriculum of adult education for parliamentary democracy should include a brief historical resume of the advent of democracy in India, the essentials of the Constitution of India including the basic purposes and the broad framework of representative institutions and administrative organization and an awareness of the rights and obligations of citizenship. In India, adult education for parliamentary democracy means basic social education. The first rudiment of adult education for parliamentary democracy is that mere mechanical literacy is insufficient and irrelevant and that adult education should be geared to certain well-defined practical purposes either for the acquisition of certain skills or for inculcating certain awareness and attitudes.

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[2] See *ibid*, page 1685.

It is often claimed in somewhat exaggerated fashion that there is a great deal of wisdom and sagacity in the simple, unlettered peasant of India, and that he does not need literacy or education to conduct himself as a citizen of a democratic state. It is said with some justification that in the exercise of political judgment he is not far behind the literate and urban sections of the electorate who also tend to be guided by somewhat the same factors as the rural voter. This is partly true. But the shortcomings in the political behaviour of the literate and the urban sections of our population do not and cannot provide a justification for illiteracy in the rural area. The deficiency and the backwardness in the attitudes of the urban voter in India is the consequence of a heavy backlog of the deadweight of tradition. Unfortunately, the politics of scarcity in a democratic India has generally tended to accentuate the retarding elements in the mental make-up of the people. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that casteism has received a fresh lease of life in India partly due to the exigencies of the electoral process. This is unfortunate. But adult education can certainly pave the way for obliterating social barriers and eradicating such outmoded attitudes. It seems to me that the Indian peasant, inspite of his age old wisdom, is in need of education and training in citizenship, and that no measure of romanticisation of the simple peasants of India can detract from the demands which modernization and democracy make on us as a people, for improvement of "population quality" is central to the success of our economic, social and political enterprises. It has to be remembered that adult education for democracy can be a potent instrument in accomplishing the great object of building a better life for the common people.

Considerable emphasis has been placed of late on the need for an intensive programme of adult education geared to economic growth and especially to rural, agricultural and industrial development[3]. Shri J. P. Naik has said in his book on *Educational Planning In India*:

> "The liquidation of adult illiteracy is the most important programme of national development and on it depend several other programmes such as agricultural production, family planning, etc. This sector has been criminally neglected and it is extremely desirable to undertake a large-scale programme in this sector and to liquidate mass illiteracy in a few years—five or ten at the most. For this purpose, part-time education leading to permanent literacy may be made compulsory for all children in the age-group 11-17 (about 1½ hours' attendance a day for three days in a week maintained for about a year would serve the purpose). In addition, mass literacy campaigns will have to be organised for all adults in the age-group 18-40."[4]

The report of the Education Commission also emphasises the need for liquidation of illiteracy and for continuing education. The Education Commission puts it aptly in its report, when it says : "No nation can leave its security only to the police and the army ; to a large extent national security depends upon the education of citizens, their knowledge of affairs, their character and sense of discipline and their ability to participate effectively in security measures. . .Thus viewed, the function of adult education in a democracy is to provide every adult citizen with an opportunity for education of the type which he wishes and which he should have for his personal enrichment, professional advancement and effective participation in social and political life.[5] Defining the concept of adult literacy, the Education Commission referred to the deliberations of the World

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[3] See Planning Commission Memorandum on the Fourth Five Year Plan, New Delhi, 1964, page 65.

[4] J.P. Naik, *Educational Planning in India*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1965, p. 23.

[5] See Report of the Education Commission (1964-66), page 422.

Conference of Education Ministers on the Eradication of Illiteracy organized by UNESCO at Teheran (1965) and concluded that literacy should be regarded as a way of preparing man for social, civic and economic role that goes far beyond the limits of rudimentary literacy training, consisting merely in the teaching of reading and writing. It follows that adult literacy programmes should seek to help the adult to interest himself in vital national problems and to participate effectively in the social and political life of the country.

It is true that in the developing countries adult education must have a bias for vocational skills. That is the emphasis which has been, by and large, articulated and adopted in the programmes of the Planning Commission in India. It appears to the present writer that adult education for democracy has not received the attention it deserves at the hands of our policy-makers, and this is because the transforming role of social and political education is not fully understood. It is the considered view of the present writer that a political system, properly understood and dynamically worked is capable of producing far-reaching economic results. If democracy is to be conducive to rapid growth and development, it is necessary that we understand the main-springs of democratic philosophy, the underlying design of democratic government and the technology of democracy. For democracy is not a mere physical apparatus or a paraphernalia of external embellishment. It is a way of life in which every citizen is enabled to participate to the best of his capacity on a footing of equal dignity and parity of opportunities. Democracy is a higher form of political culture because it implies persuasion instead of coercion and freedom instead of constraint. Adult education for democracy could galvanise and harness the vast man-power of the world's greatest democracy; without such education our practice of democracy would remain dysfunctional.

The community development programmes in India are expected to provide the machinery for the social education of the adult population of India for democracy. But the community development programmes have been indifferently executed and have paid but scant attention to social and political education. That is why the impact of these programmes in transforming the fabric of our life has been meagre. The Government have often confessed that there is general lack of enthusiasm among the villagers towards such adult literacy programmes. W. S. Woytinsky was struck not merely by the indifference of the villagers, but also by the lack of interest in adult education among Indian educators. As he put it : "Here and there classes are held for small groups of men and women. There is much talk about the hunger for knowledge among the villagers, but one notices no serious concentrated effort to put an end to illiteracy in the villages."[6]

Even though it is now recognized that illiteracy is a great obstacle to social and economic development, the policy-makers do not seem to accept the basic need for a massive plan of adult education for democracy in India. It seems to the present writer that a well-proportioned and an integrated plan of adult education must give equal importance to social, political and vocational training.

Evolving the strategy of a national plan for adult education for parliamentary democracy in India, we must view it as an integral part of the adult education and community development as a whole. In the first place, there should be national consensus and legislative sanction for such a national plan. Such a national plan would require an enormous allocation of resources and an extensive deployment of man-power. What is more it would require a sense of determination, dedication and commitment. While a voluntary organisation like the Indian Adult Education Association or the Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies who are interested in spreading adult education and disseminating democratic values might make their limited contribution to the gigantic task, such a national plan had to be administered and undertaken by the national Government or in the alternative, and preferably by a national agency or authority especially constituted for the purpose of administering and implementing such a plan.

The programme of Adult Education for parliamentary democracy must embrace the bulk of the adult population in the country including those who are literate and even those who have had somewhat sophisticated kind of education. The curriculum must include, as has been stated earlier, a historical narration of the main events in India's freedom movement, and the advent of modern parliamentary democracy in India, the essentials of the Indian Constitution including the machinery of political organisation, the electoral system, duties and obligations of citizenship, the fundamental rights of the individual and the judicial system. Such a progromme must seek to inculcate a fundamental faith in the values of democracy, tolerance and freedom.

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[6] W.S. Woytinsky, *India : The Awakening Giant*, Harper, New York, 1957, p. 132.

In the organisational strategy for such a programme, it is necessary to remember that the social effort has to be multipronged. The programme would have to be organised on a wide range. Such a programme would include university extension activity, and would involve the student-community as well as the teachers at different levels. It would involve every single individual who is able to contribute towards the broad objective of adult education for parliamentary democracy and a national plan such as this must necessarily acquire the character of a revolutionary movement, canalizing and creating public enthusiasm. The traditional teaching and training media are plainly insufficient for the implementation of such a massive plan. There would have to be a widespread utilisation of modern methods and particularly audio-visual media of information and instruction. The Chanda Committee of which the present writer had the privilege of being a member had pointed out the far-reaching potential and the magic persuasiveness of the modern media of mass communications particularly the radio and the television in transforming our society. Radio and television can make far-reaching impact in giving life and momentum to the programme for adult education for democracy. Films, television, cinema and radio offer limitless educational opportunities which could lead to the democratization of education and of society and to the building up of a dynamic social democracy in our country. It is through these media of mass communications that we could achieve a breakthrough in the social, political and economic reconstruction of the country. These media of mass communications would not only transform our social attitudes and political orientation but would also bring about a wholesome change in our social and political organisation. Conceivably, we could build a more open, a freer and a more democratic society. These media of mass communications could lay the foundations for the new democratic civilization and the new humanism; they could also make the individual more aware of his social obligations and the society more responsive towards the need for freedom of the individual.

The utilization of the media of mass communications in India for adult education has been of limited impact. This is because the programmes have not been accorded the priority that they deserve and because these programmes are not projected in a sufficiently interesting and imaginative way. The present writer has had the occasion to observe the working of the *Telescula* in Italy which functions as a public school television channel for adults. The *Telescula* has achieved conspicuous and notable success in eradicating illiteracy in Southern Italy and in arresting the relapse of neo-literates into illiteracy and in disseminating social education. In India the mass media have kept themselves blissfully aloof from the major concerns of adult education for citizenship. Except by way of a few talks which are broadcast now and then on the All India Radio and which may not necessarily have the kind of impact which such programmes would have if they are planned by those involved in adult education and adept in its specialized techniques. Broadcasting is not a mere technical undertaking nor is it an administrative enterprize. It is necessary to enlist the active cooperation of educators who are conversant with the peculiar problems in this field. Speaking for myself, I would plead for one separate and special channel both on our broadcasting system as well as on our embryonic television system for purpose of adult education. The function of broadcasting is to inform, to educate and to entertain, and it seems that sufficient emphasis has not been placed on its responsibility in the field of education.

Universal adult education for democracy would bring about greater justice—political, economic and social, and would usher into an era of greater equality, freedom and dignity for every member of the human family. But if this is not to remain a distant dream of a millennium, we must impart programmatic content to the idea of a national plan of adult education for democracy.

I would suggest for the consideration of this Seminar the following major points :

(I) The Inter-relationship of Universal Adult Suffrage and Adult Education :

It is the view of the present writer that universal Adult Suffrage without universal Adult Education is an anomaly, and that it is necessary for us to ensure universal Adult Education in order that universal Adult Suffrage may prove to be a success. Social history of our times bears testimony to the fact that universal Adult Suffrage has contributed substantially towards the extension of education to the entire body of citizenry and that adult education on a universal basis can lead to a greater democratization of society. The Seminar should discuss the rationale of adult suffrage and of adult education which flows from the same source.

(2) Adult Education for Development and Democracy :

It appears to the writer of this paper that there is an increasing emphasis on adult education for development and for transfer of technology and vocational skills to the fields and factories. This may prove to be a lopsided emphasis unless there is equal stress on adult education for social responsibility, citizenship and democracy. Adult education is indeed as important for democracy as it is for development. Unless we can work our political system and reorient our social thinking, any mechnical instruction in vocational skills would prove to be unavailing and an exercise in futility. It is in the attitudes and minds of men that a social revolution has to be brought about, and it is this change which would foster economic dynamism and augment productivity.

(3) The Magnitude of the Task and the Experience of the Past :

There is no doubt that the task is herculean because adult education for democracy and citizenship would have to embrace the bulk of the population of India at different levels in the age group of 18 to 45. It would require skillfully worked out programmes in a number of languages. It would require an enormous deployment of manpower and above all it would require great dedication, commitment, public enthusiasm and faith. Our experience has been that the community development programmes have been somewhat indifferently executed and have not been able to graduate beyond the level of elementary entertainment and agricultural extension. Community development programmes have to be recast into well proportioned and integrated programmes which would include intensive education for social responsibility, citizenship and democracy. Urban community development programmes should also be established in order that increasing urbanization may not result in the increase of cultural and educational slums. Policy-makers must realize that adult education provides an avenue for rapid growth and quick and concrete pay-off. Particular emphasis should be laid on the adult education of women.

(4) Mechanics, Methods and Media for Adult Education for Social Responsibility, Citizenship and Democracy:

An extensive use of the media of mass communication and particularly of audio-visual methods is obviously the need of the hour. Radio, television, films and local group meeting would provide the most effective methods for such a programme. In the opinion of the writer of the present paper, the introduction of television in India is not a luxury, if it is geared to the dissemination of adult education. At present even the existing media are insufficiently deployed. The films do not reach the bulk of the Indian population and have a disproportionately commercial angle dominating them. The rural society in India has not been exposed to the healthy and constructive uses of the media of mass communication. Local broadcasting should be instituted and encouraged for adult education. At least one channel should be reserved for the entire network in the country for interesting and imaginative programmes of adult education. Programmes should be skillfully prepared by the best minds in the field of adult education and communication sciences. Special attention should be given to the production of the highest quality of suitable literature for adult education in different languages of the country. University colleges and schools must invariably have extension activity in the field of adult education for social responsibility and citizenship. Every single Indian citizen must be involved in such programmes in appropriate manner.

(5) A National Plan for Adult Education for Social Responsibility, Citizenship and Democracy:

It is necessary to impart concrete programmatic content to the ideas and schemes of adult education for democracy. It should be a national programme administered preferably by a national authority or a national agency with ample resources at its disposal. The national authority should be autonomous and should be free from governmental control in its day-to-day working. It should have the sanction and approval of Parliament which should lay down the framework of policy and programme for the national authority. The national authority should coordinate the implementation of the national plan throughout the country. Within every region, there should be a sufficient scope for innovation and improvisation in the programmes and in the choice and use of media and methods. Every State should have a board functioning under the national authority to supervise and coordinate the implementation and coordination of the plan. The national authority should work on the basis of a national consensus and should be free from all partisanship and political influence, its only article of faith being the dissemination of democratic values, and the education of the entire adult population of the country, male and female, for social responsibility and obligations of citizenship.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah

Dy. Director-General of UNESCO

No Education No Democracy

At first blush the relationship between adult education and parliamentary democracy seems a simple, direct, unilinear one. No adult education, no parliamentary democracy. The Paris daily, *Le Monde*, in its issue of 22 November carried a startling headline: seventeen military takeovers in six years,[1] and most journals followed with a sombre recital of the events. Look around you here in Asia, where since their independence over half the governments have been over-thrown by their military leaders. Latin America is experiencing a similar spate of replacement of democratic structures by military rule. The Third World, with over 96 per cent of the world's illiterates living in it, seems to be bearing out the view—No Education, No Democracy.

Complete Education No Democracy

On further reflection, however, this simple, direct relationship, no education, no parliamentary democracy, does not seem to exist. Turning now to Europe of the inter-war period, another relationship, complete education, no parliamentary democracy seems to have equal validity. Europe had universal education for decades : illiteracy was almost non-existent. Mass media and books had been developed in all their plenitude for the literate masses. Education was general and complete. And yet led by Fascist and Nazi societies, democracy was on the retreat in the continent. In country after country, the individual man of the semi-literate Nineteenth century was being turned into the mass man of the literate Twentieth century. This mass man was ready and willing to surrender his sacred rights and inherent responsibilities and become party to a most flagrant display of primitive passion and savage brutality through service to a State which was completely contemptuous of democracy.

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[1] Dix-sept coups d'etat militaires en Afrique noire en six ans. *Le Monde.* 22 November, 1968. Paris.

"Young Turks are taking over : coups virus spreads. *International Herald Tribune.* 2 December 1968. Paris.

The Mass Man

At the first World Conference on Adult Education called by UNESCO at Elsinore, Denmark in 1949, Jean Guehenno recalled[2] in vivid terms this odious and bloody page of our educational history and sounded a solemn warning:

> I shall say nothing here, lest I cast gloom over the discussions of all we have been forced to learn of man and men in the last ten years. I shall not speak of that world which another of our writers has called the "concentration world" and which stretches far beyond the boundaries of the concentration camps, for it perhaps involves us all: we bear a great blemish. We now know that Sade was right and that man is that, too, "that" of which we dare not speak. Man has perhaps never undergone so deep a change as in becoming a mass man into which he is turning. What has since become of the individual man? What an advance here, too! We march together, we shout together, we go to the factory together, to prison together, to the concentration camp and death—always together, we think together or we believe we do. In fact we can never think together. But we do everything else together. The sole desire of every man is to be saved or lost with the multitude, to think by proxy and the common grave may soon become, by law, the fittest charnel house for the depersonalized masses.

Hamlet's Ghost

Thirty years before Guéhenno, after the war to end wars, Paul Valéry painted an equally sombre picture[3] of the seeming antinomy between the life of the mind and the life of the spirit, between education and democracy:

> Now on a vast battlement of Elsinore, stretching from Basle to Cologne, and reaching out to the sands of Nieuport, the marshes of the Somme, the chalk-lands of

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[2] J. Guéhenno: Adult Education and the Crisis of Civilization. *Adult Education: Current Trends and Practices.* UNESCO. Paris. 1949.

[3] P. Valéry: *Variété*. Gallimard. Paris 1924.

Champagne and the granite hills of Alsace, the European Hamlet faces millions of ghosts.

He is a Hamlet of the mind. He is meditating on the life and death of truths. His ghosts are the subjects of all our disagreements; his remorse is for all on which we pride ourselves: he is weighed down by the burden of knowledge and discovery, powerless to embark anew on those boundless endeavours. He reflects on the weariness of beginning the past over again and the folly of constantly seeking something new. He wavers between two pitfalls, for two dangers continually threaten his world: order and disorder.

When he picks up a skull it is a famous one. Whose was it? This was Leonardo. He invented the flying man but the flying man has not done quite what the inventor intended : we know that today the flying man astride his mighty swan has other things to do than to fetch snow from the mountain tops to scatter it, on hot days, in the streets of the cities. This other skull is that of Leibnitz, who dreamed of universal peace.

Hamlet is not sure what to do with all these skulls. Suppose he left them behind! Will he cease to be himself? His terribly penetrating mind considers the path from war to peace. That way is far darker and more dangerous than the way from peace to war. And I, he asks, I, the intellect of Europe, what will become of me? And what is peace? Peace is perhaps that state in which the natural enmity of men takes shape in creation instead of being turned to destruction as in war. But am I not weary of producing? Must I follow the rest of the world and copy Polonius, who is now the editor of a big newspaper? Or Laertes, who is something in the air force?

Farewell, ye ghosts! The world needs you no more. Nor me. The world which gives the name of progress to its fatal desire for certainties, is trying to combine the advantages of death with the good of life. There is still some confusion, but yet a little while and all will be explained: we shall at last see the miracle of an animal society, the perfect ant heap for ever more.

May I recall, however, that ants do not maim, mutilate, murder each other, nor devour themselves.

Our Kurukshetra

How apposite these words are to the record of the short history of independence of this our beloved land and its increasing volatile peoples. This land where every step is haunted by the ghosts of its great men and wise, whose every square inch is marked by glorious events recorded in the Gita, the Acokan edicts and the Kural and Tholkappiam! Its peoples which were suckled, since the dawn of the century, on the milk of non-violence, led by that apostle of *satya* and *ahimsa*, whose centenary of birth we and the whole UNESCO world are celebrating this year![4] And yet we ushered in our day of liberation with a mass violence, mass slaughter and mass displacement of some ten million men and women, young and old, babies and children, an opening which almost destroyed the delicate democratic fabric of our nascent free society. How many of us can recall that other great leader of ours, Jawaharlal Nehru, who had only two nights ago called us to join him in our rendezvous with destiny, standing back unbelieving, aghast and confused at this national orgy, this dance of death, and shaking off his weariness rushing to the side of his friend and fellow worker at Jamia Millia, ready to lay down his own life in attempting to bring us back to sanity and some semblance of democracy.[5]

But this scene is, alas, not just of the past, a very near, mere 22 year past! Every day, today we see how near the surface violence is in our land in its challenge to democratic living. Whether it be in the burning of trams and buses, the looting of shops and houses and the rioting and killing of minority communities we, who with our sub-subdivisions of Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Muslims and Christians are a nation of minorities, we are gradually moving into a society where disagreement is not settled by debate and a counting of heads but by declamation and a cracking of skulls. Or again, whether it be in the acts of corruption, nepotism and power-seeking that we indulge in or condone, in the reckless hurling of charges and counter-charges in and outside our legislative assemblies, in what has come to be called floor crossing in these bodies, parliamentary democracy is daily being brought into disrepute and whittled away. And in the vanguard of the whole process is the intellectual elite; the torch bearers of this procession are the educated minority of the land, not the illiterate masses.

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[4] Project 3.112 of the fourteenth session of the General Conference, UNESCO Paris 1966.

Resolution 3.113 of the fifteenth session of the General Conference, UNESCO, Paris 1968.

[5] *Commemoration Volume on Dr. Zakir Husain.* Jamia Nagar, New Delhi 1968.

Of course speaking to you thus, I may sound as if I am preaching to the converted, as if I were carrying coals to Newcastle. I do not suppose that there is one member in this Seminar who has burnt a bus or crossed the floor. Such people are too busy to attend seminars and conferences like this. But as Gandhiji taught us and Valery reminds us, where one of us, educated, is guilty, all are guilty. Being members one of another, we carry a common responsibility.

Lesson of History

Can we learn from this history—Ancient and Modern ? Or are we once more going to demonstrate that the only lesson that we learn from history is that we never learn from history? I hope not. I pray not.

History shows us that the absence of education and military takeovers go together : it also demonstrates that the presence of education and odious and tyrannous dictatorship coexist. Our own brief history tells us that the education we received and the education that the majority of our fellow citizens have not received provide fertile ground for the erosion, if not death of democracy. In other words, there is no simple, automatic correlation between education and freedom, between adult education and parliamentary democracy.

Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy Defined

Your theme for the Seminar, adult education for parliamentary democracy, harks back to the theme of the Conference —adult education ; living to learn, learning to live, which I have elaborated in my Presidential Address. Education is not preparation for life but life itself. Adult education is not an educational stage of life : it is an educational style of life. Parliamentary democracy is basically the participation of every citizen in the functioning of society. Adult education for parliamentary democracy is thus an educational style of living, of living democratically. This style of living, this democratic living, involves the following institutions :

The family;

The school;

The work and leisure-time institutions;

Society generally.

This style of living involves the participation of the citizen:

As voter;

As member of party;

As office holder.

This style of living involves the use of certain methods and techniques:

For dialogue and discussion;

For decision making.

Having dealt in some detail with the institutional and methodological implications of the concept and mandate of adult education in my Presidential Address, I will deal only with some additional issues here.

Institutions

The family

How far is our family a democratic cell ? Is family living democratic living ? How can the dichotomy of parental authority and freedom of the individual child, respect for elders and initiative of the young be reconciled ? How can the sanctity of the human person and the equality of all persons in dignity and rights be expressed in (*a*) the relative position of men and women, boys and girls in the family ; (*b*) the decision as to the number and spacing of children in the family ? Can we stop asking a family at childbirth whether it is a child or a girl which was born ? Can the size of the family and the number of children and their prospects be discussed and agreed upon by both parents ? How can both the elders and the youth in a family be involved in planning of the future size of future families ?

One expression and base of democratic living is genuine communication between parent and children. Over 80 per cent of American adults, but less than 30 per cent of French adults, are able to report' what their parents political party preferences are.[6] I would guess that, given our family tradition of treating children as morons and of demanding that they be silent in the company of their elders, the Indian percentage would be very low. Is our familial tradition of passive obedience by the young vis-a-vis their elders responsible both for our being easily ruled and liking it, ("the slave mentality") and our outbursts into violence (when we cannot have our way)? A study of two pre-literate tribes in Africa shows that one, the Gusii, where children are thoroughly subordinate to adults, were compliant to British colonial rule, while the other, the Nuer, with its egalitarianism under which the children talked back freely, were in constant revolt.[7] Patterns of family relationship have an important impact on the acquisition of beliefs, loyalities and personality traits. Living democratically in the family is an excellent learning experience for living democratically in the wider society.

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[6] P. Econverse and G. Dupeux : Politicization of the Electorate in France and the United States. *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 26. Princeton 1962.

Undemocratic practices, are not all on the side of the elders and parents. The sixteenth century French philosopher Jean Bodin, seemed to be describing life today in 1968 when he said :[8]

> Children who stand in little awe of their parents and have even less fear of the wrath of God, readily set at defiance the authority of the magistrate.

Children can be tyrants and can easily perfect their techniques of tyranny in the permissive atmosphere of the family. A recent study in the United States showed that where children made the decisions on what television programmes to see, educational televiewing was minimal.[9] The family is the training ground for learning the know-how of democratic or tyrannous decisions.

The school

The school system must be a prototype of democracy. I have in my Presidential Address indicated how the school system based as it is on compulsion and conformity, instils anti-democratic attitudes. Its goal-oriented, antediluvian and autocratic teaching and learning methods must give place to role-oriented techniques of instruction and thought which can become the basis for dialogue and tolerance of disagreement. I have then set forth the implications of this change for the objectives, organization, content and methods of education. We will have taken a long step forward toward the achievement of democracy in this great land of ours when our institutions of education are themselves democratically organized and operative.

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[7] R.A. Levine : The Internalization of Political Values in Stateless Societies. *Human Organization.* Vol. XIX. Lexington (Ky.) 1960.

[8] See F.I. Greenstein : Political Socialization. *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences.* Vol. XIV. New York 1968.

[9] M. Goldstein : Reports of University of Oregon for U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C. 1961.

Work and leisure-time institutions

The mode of organization and method of functioning of the farm, factory and office, the trade union, the Chamber of Commerce, the agricultural workers co-operative, the community block, the club, the theatre and the cultural centre could either promote understanding and respect for parliamentary democracy or develop anti-democratic, anti-parliamentarian attitudes. A recent study of the structure of the labour force in Norway and the United States[10] indicates, despite their great differences, (25·9 per cent in primary and 19·8 per cent in tertiary industry in Norway and 12·5 per cent and 31·2 per cent in the United States), to what extent full membership participation is or is not built into these institutions. Where the structure is oligarchic, the procedures pre-cooked and the areas of decisions vague and undefind, there is a real threat to democracy. Our institutions in India need to be reviewed from the double point of view of leadership variables (higher versus low ego strength) and participation procedures (life situation variables).

Society generally

The manner in which society is organized and the values by which its members live have profound influence on democratic living. The rigid stratified hierarchical order which the caste system and many religious institutions have come to represent, the curious strength of the joint family and the negation of our neighbour if he is not of our closed circle, the preponderant role which linguistic and geographic affinities have come to play, the apparent high values attached to renunciation and self-imposed poverty together with basic self-centredness, greed and desire for material wealth—all these need to be subject to full and frank investigation, study and research. Only then will we know what to conserve, what to throw out and how to replace what, for living democratically.

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[10] S. Rotiken and A. Campbell : Citizen Participation in Norway and the United States of America. *International Social Science Journal.* Vol. XII, No. 1. UNESCO, Paris 1960.

Participation of the Citizen

How far and in what manner do these institution permit the citizens in this land to participate in the governance of his country as: (*a*) a voter; (*b*) a member of a political party, and (*c*) as an elected official. Democracy is enhanced by political participation and is thwarted by political apathy.

The simplest test is voter participation. In the United Kingdom, 76-85 per cent of eligible voters voted in 1955, 80 per cent in France in 1958, 73 per cent in Finland in 1956, 78 per cent in Norway in 1960 and 60 per cent in the recent presidential elections in the United States. In the 1966 general elections in India, 61·43 per cent voted. Should one then say that the United States and India are only a 60 per cent democracy ?

Turning to the second index, membership in political parties, in the United Kingdom 45-50 per cent of the electorate subscribe to a political party and 10-12 per cent claim to be keenly interested, in Finland 40 per cent, in Norway 15 per cent, in France around 4 per cent, in the United States 2-3 per cent and in India around the French/United States percentage. It is clear that these figures of party membership, are not comparable as their statistical base is variable and political participation in countries like France and the United States is expressed outside of party membership.

The third index of political participation, the percentage of candidates who offer themselves for elective office, is generally around 0·2-0·5 per cent of the electorate. There are wider variations in the proportion of elected local officials; rising from a low 13 per 10,000 electors in the United Kingdom, to 32 in the United States, 49 in Finland and 72 in Norway.[11] In India the various estimates indicate a 5 per 10,000 ratio.

May I add the brief comment that the extent, reality and intensity of these various forms of citizen participation are both inclusive and parameter setting in regard to "direct democracy",

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[11] These statistics are recorded in seven papers on citizenship participation in political life : *International Social Science Journal.* Vol. XII, No. 1. UNESCO, Paris 1960.

(which is the use of revolutionary means to achieve reformist ends) expressed in boycotts, demonstrations, marches, sit-ins, teach-ins, fastings, Satyagraha, which my generation used as an instrument of national liberation and the current generation employs as a prelude to violence and violent manifestations. A fascinating point of historical speculation would be to try to guess when India would have become independent if it had followed the constitutionalism of Tej Bahadur Sapru instead of the non-violent, non-co-operationism of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Equally the parameter to such revolutionary means were set by him when as a result of the Chandni Chowk violence, Gandhiji called off the independence struggle.

There is a growing body of literature on the parliamentary profession[12], to which we in India should contribute as one means of strengthening parliamentary democracy. We have left behind the days of Dadhabhai Naroji, Ashutosh Mukherji, and even those of Rajaji, and Panditji just as the U.S. senator is no longer the classic figure with the mane of white hair sweeping down over his collar, the dignified paunch, the frock coat with the stetson covering the mottled jowls. (In fact, last week I was introduced to a senator who looked more like a Roman emperor.) The parliamentarian of today is one who is endorsed by his party (which degenerates into bossism and produces the party hack), harassed by his constituents, (the Soviet Deputy's preoccupations in this regard, as recounted by Mr. Gubin, are exactly similar to those of every member of our Lok Sabha), well educated in all countries, though in India a university law degree is no longer a must. He has unequal political knowledge and a strong personality inclined to authoritarianism. His competence for political activity develops out of his life environment and his *affect*, his concern and indignation expressed in opposition and protest which are fed by all the voluntary bodies he is associated with. French sociologists[13] point out that French voters do not particularly want the man they return to parliament to resemble themselves and this is true of other lands, including ours and may in part account for the parachuting of candidates in certain constituencies. The parliamentarian comes from a fairly well to do background, because his profession is badly organized and poorly paid everywhere. There has been a decrease in the number of parliamentarians from the working classes, in Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States and France. Looking at parliamentarians the world over, the need for its professionalization, by developing common norms, specific abilities and expert knowledge together with long experience, is an urgent need. This may be one specific task of adult education for our own parliamentarians.

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[12] J. C. Wahke and H. Eubau : *Legislative Behaviour. A Reader in Theory and Research,* Glencoe (III.) 1959.

The Parliamentary Profession : A compendium of nine papers. *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 4. UNESCO, Paris 1961.

[13] L. Hamon : Members of French Parliament. *Ibid I.S.S. Journal.*

In a study[14] on the influence of adult education on Swedish elected officials, it was found that 66 per cent of the parliamentarians, 79 per cent of the social democrats, 87 per cent of the agrarians, 41 per cent of the liberals and 33 per cent of the conservatives had recourse to adult education. Adult education preparation for city council members in Stockholm and three other selected communities ranged from 51 to 80 per cent. Even in the cabinet, 7 of 15 ministers prepared for public service through adult education. The success of parliamentary democracy in Sweden is certainly assured by its adult education activities.

In our country, as in most newly independent countries, parliamentary democracy faces further strains. In these countries, the united national front as the sole political party which led the fight for liberation must in time evolve into two or three political parties with distinguishable programmes and alternatives. Revolutionary or underground opposition of pre-independence day must develop into "His Majesty's loyal opposition" after independence. The transitional phase which sees the growth of what one African leader called monocracy, what we in Asia know as splinter groups and guided democracy based on personalities and not principles, is a long and difficult one and can be both shortened and usefully employed by planned civic education. Such educational programmes must also develop the art of losing, including the healthy tradition in Europe and North America of publicly conceding defeat to the opponent. In parliamentary democracy, the demos speaks and our Faustian-Karman heritage, which lies somewhere between making a demon of success and a cult of failure, must help us accept its voice unconditionally and go on to the next act of the drama.

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[14] H. Erickson : Influence of Adult Education and Swedish Political Leadership. *International Review of Education.* Vol. XII, No. 2. Hamburg 1966.

Citizen participation which is the basis for a functioning parliamentary democracy, and to which the indices referred to earlier are no more than a rough guide, has been the subject of careful study from the time of Lord Bryce.[15] He divided citizens into (*a*) a very small percentage who made opinion ; (*b*) a slightly larger group who talked and discussed, read news and attended meetings; and (*c*) the vast majority who had no opinions, were "indifferent to public affairs, reading little and thinking less about them".

Studies by political scientists[16] of this last group distinguishes two types of politically apathetic citizens. First there are those who disdain participation in the political process because it seems to them corrupt, immoral and self-serving. (A plague on both your houses !) Second, there are those who fail to participate out of political-indifference (what does it matter whether it is Rama who rules or Ravana), exclusion (women in the past and youth today) or incapacity (the illiterate and inarticulate). This second group is the numerically preponderant one. Political participation must be learned and for such learning there must be capacity, motivation and opportunity. In this group all three pre-conditions are observed to be missing and it is the function of education to create or contribute to them.

Methods and Techniques of Participation

Education bears a major responsibility for overcoming political apathy. Where society and its institutions contribute to democratic living, studies show[17] that education offers high and reliable correlations with political participation, because : (*a*) education helps to develop a sense of civic duty ; (*b*) the schools can serve as a setting in which the skills of political participation are acquired, such as joining organizations, participating in meetings, discussing broad social questions and organizing for the achievement of group goals; and (*c*) the more educated are able to transmit more effectively their political interest and knowledge to their children. Conversely, does illiteracy imply low civic participation ?[18]

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[15] Lord Bryce : *The American Commonwealth* 1893. *Modern Democracies* 1921. Macmillan. New York.

[16] H. McCloskey : Political Participation. *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences.* Vol. XII. New York 1968.

[17] *Ibid.*

The branch of education most directly concerned with training for parliamentary democracy is the area known as civics and civics training. This was a problem central to Plato's concern with the *Republic* and Manu with his *Smriti.* Since then, educational system—peoples' college, cultural centres, evening classes, workers' universities and all forms of mass education—have concerned themselves with unknown degrees of success with the preparation of citizenry at all stages and in every forum for participation in public affairs. In parliamentary democracy there is special need for education about parliament because the government leaders are well known and possess a charisma. I have a feeling that civics is a neglected area of our educational system, with no more than a fitful start made in our programmes for social education and national integration. When I was a student, every village bhajan and drama, every kalakshebam and college entertainment, ended with a secretive tableau of Mother India and the seditious rendering of Vande Matheram, Sen Tamilnadu and

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[18] To try to understand, in order to try to choose and to determine what one wants, one must first be able to read. In times when men are more and more dependent on the intermediary of signs, to be unable to read means isolation in the world ; and this is true despite the proliferation and propagation of images—and incidentally we do not realize sufficiently to what an extent those images refer to ideas which cannot be handled with precision without the written word. Isolation from the world, and therefore isolation in the world, solitude, darkness, impotence, without command of any means of finding a place in accordance with one's own ideas in the environment, of choosing one's own work, of defending one's rights, of ordering one's needs and, *a fortiori*, of influencing by deliberate choice the changes taking place in that environment.

Rene Maheu : Address to International Conference on Human Rights. DG/68/3. Teheran 1968.

What good is it to guarantee the free election of the representatives of the people and to declare that the will of the people should express itself "by universal and equal suffrage" in a world where the legislation of certain countries still maintains distinctions between the literate and the illiterate and where millions of people cannot exercise their right to vote with a full knowledge of the facts because they cannot read or write. This is true, for instance, of the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely-chosen representatives. The illiterates are in fact necessarily limited in their conception of the world and their understanding of public affairs. The road to reliable, well-documented information is irremediably barred. That shows the great limitations placed on the exercise of their civic duties. It is not surprising therefore that the first thing done by a government which wants its regime to be founded on a solid democratic basis to ensure adult literacy.

Illiteracy and Human Rights. UNESCO. Paris 1968.

Janagana Mana. What is the similar spontaneous, the parallel political instruction of today ?

The part played by the election campaign in the civic education of the citizen requires further cross national research. Rousseau, two centuries ago, made the caustic comment that the British people enjoyed political freedom only once in five years. Civic education, however, is not simply a function of the length and intensity of the election campaign. Election jamborees are useful but not necessary educational experiences. The reaction in the United States to the recent nominating conventions, the dangers of "over-exposure" and the problem of "peaking too soon" of the nominees, and the fact that the three presidential candidates wore themselves so ragged that they were hardly audible on the television screen as I listened to them two weeks before the end of the campaign, all raise questions as to the relative merits of the short, inexpensive, quiet electioneering of the parliamentary system (which also have other means of civic education) and the more elaborate election processes of the presidential system.

In this task of informing citizens as to political issues, attitudes and the imperative to vote, in the whole decision-making area, the educational process and adult education have not only the traditional techniques of the primary group, that is, the family, the school, the group of work associates and friends, which we had in my student days but since independence a whole new method and technique, the mass media, that is radio and television, films and filmstrips, exhibitions, newspapers, magazines, books and pamphlets in all our national languages. These media provide quick, universal, powerful, relatively inexpensive, precise and simple techniques of civic education.[19] The dreary controversy about the effects of

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[19] Referring to the revolutionary effect of mass media under the title "The Medium is the Massage", an acknowledged authority in this field states that it shows up politics as giving yesterday's answers to today's questions and is instead producing a new form of politics in which the living room has become a voting booth. Studies indicate that television, which brought the horrors of the Viet Nam war into every American drawing room every night for the last 18 months, contributed to important political decisions such as the emergence of Senator McCarthy as a presidential candidate, the decision of President Johnson not to run for a second term, the majority trend in public opinion polls against the war, et al. The Milton Eisenhower Commission on violence in its last report on 1 December, states that the role of the news media substantially influenced the behaviour of both demonstrators and law enforcers during confrontations at the Chicago convention last August. It

(*Contd. on next page*)

absence of personal confrontation need no longer worry us. The Lazarsfelo hypothesis[20] links the two methods of communication through the group of *opinion leaders* or *influentials*, who are the persons who have more and continuing contact with mass media, who transmit and interpret information and ideas gained from the media to the others. Recent studies[21] of the application of this two-stage hypothesis show that the apparent dangers of mass media dividing society between those who think for themselves and those who are taught what to think, are non-existent. The evaluation, now in progress, of the reactions of the 1,000 persons in Tiruchi and Tanjore districts to the films on high yielding varieties of paddy should throw further light on this subject.

And where can one better behold the *influential* at work than here, the home of Sri Aurobindo, that youthful revolutionary who turned from terrorism to truth, from a political prisoner to a spiritual liberator, whose fiery torch of love, compassion, courage and conscious self-realization is being passed on from here in Pondicherry to all parts of his motherland and several parts of the Unesco land, which is also his fatherland.[22] And the successor *influential* today of this ranging movement for self-education is the Mother, whose vision of the world-to-be is being embodied in Auroville, that home for the homeless, that life of beauty, truth and goodness for those who

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speaks of a "police riot" as well as "Yippie provocations". "What 'the whole world was watching', after all was not a confrontation but the picture of a confrontation, to some extent directed by a generation that had grown up with television and learned to use it." Abbie Hoffmann, the Yippie leader, testified as to how he hoped to use television and the report summarises his testimony: "This theatrical concept was a primary ingredient of their approach. The audience would be the American public, the means of communication would be the mass media, manipulated to create distorted images of themselves. The stage would be the streets and the message would be a demonstration of disrespect, irreverence and ridicule."

Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore: *The Medium is the Massage.* Penguin Press. Middlesex 1967.

Rights in Conflict: Report of the Special Task Force of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, Washington D.C. 1, December 1968.

20. P.F. Lazarsfeld and E. Katz: *Personal Influence.* Glencoe (Ill.) 1955.

21. *Ibid* footnotes 10 and 23.

22. Resolution 4.36 of the fourteenth session of the General Conference, UNESCO, Paris 1966.

Resolution 4.13 of the fifteenth session of the General Conference, UNESCO, Paris 1968.

have known no beauty, truth and goodness, that democratic dream that is rising before our very eyes across this town.

Agenda for Action

And so we see that we have the potential and we have the knowledge to build adult education in the service of parliamentary democracy. Our task is not an easy one : our massive population stands today at 524 million requiring massive resources and materials; its scatteration in 560,000 separated villages and 3,000 towns makes communication difficult; the low income and education levels of over 80 per cent of this population which is also rural, go along with low motivation for betterment; the wide variety of cultures, habits and traditions have in common in-built resistance to change; and finally, there are the limited channels for mass communication, recent studies showing only 20 per cent of our people, living mainly in the cities, being reached by any of our media. And yet the job can be done as the major campaigns mounted for good production and family planning demonstrate.[23]

Civic education can be a fall-out or feedback in all our programmes, national or State, district or village, governmental or voluntary, public or private. In 1956, UNESCO and the All India Radio launched a Radio Farm Forum project in 150 villages in Bombay to which two broadcasts a week were directed every Thursday and Sunday for six weeks. Each broadcast was followed by a one-hour group discussion. The evaluation of the project (despite pointing to certain limits such as the breakdown of radio sets, lack of women participants, Harijans, youth, too many extroverts) sums up much that I have been trying to say.[24]

> Radio Farm Forum has beyond any doubt proved itself a success as a medium for transmitting knowledge. The Forum developed into an institution capable of unifying the village around common decisions and common actions. Where it worked at its best it served both to widen the influence of the Gram Panchayat and to broaden the scope of its action. In some places it took

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[23] G. Narain : Mass Communications in Family Planning. *Communicator*, Vol. III, No. 6, New Delhi 1968,

[24] J.C. Mathur and P. Neurath : *An Indian Experiment in Farm Radio Forums.* UNESCO, Paris 1959,

an intermediate position between that of a Panchayat meeting and a town meeting—less binding in its decisions than the former but more flexible in its deliberations than the latter. The hundreds of decisions taken, the wells dug, the pure-bred bulls and leghorns bought, the marketing societies and balwadis established, all bear witness to this new function of the Forum. But equally so do the changes, great or small, in habits and attitudes that have been brought about, the greater determination, too, to treat certain problems as a common concern of the village and as something that the villagers themselves can help solve through action.

But perhaps even more important is the fact that the Forum as a decision-making body allowed numerous villages to participate in the decision-making process. The present form of organization which calls for a leader and a convener is excellent. If the forums were in future operated with a rotating membership, as many villages suggested, in the course of a few years almost all the villagers with initiative could have the experience of participating in important village decisions. Radio Farm Forum could thus become a most important instrument in developing village leadership and village democracy.

The one other lesson of the Forum is that for the average citizen, the issues are not party political but pragmatic, not platform oratory material but concerns of daily living and dying. This calls for open-minded *engagement* rather than just party loyalties. Adult education through families and schools, community organizations, work associations, youth and women's organizations, music and theatre groups may contribute toward fostering a personality of the citizen who is both independent and tolerant, affirmative and co-operative, action-oriented and reflective. Such citizenship is the foundation stone of any real democracy. Parliamentary democracy has become equated too much with party politics ; parties and ideologies have today limited meaning to the individual and in particular to youth. (Witness the reaction of youth the world over to political parties.) It is issues rather than parties which count. Parties count only in so far as they reflect issues. I believe parliamentary democracy can survive only if it succeeds in reflecting the kaleidoscope of popular aspirations without casting them into the frame of party bureaucracies.

Hence, the Indian Adult Education Association, the State associations and all other voluntary bodies associated with you, such as the Andhra Mahila Sabha and Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, which are private professional initiatives and not politically oriented, are particularly well suited to steer civic participation into issue-oriented discussion and action. This will, in the long run, both transform and strengthen the roots and fruits of parliamentary democracy in this land. In turn, the practice of parliamentary democracy will then become a major component of and contributor to adult education.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Shri B. D. Jatti

Lt. Governor of Pondicherry

I deem it a privilege to participate in the National Seminar on Adult Education. We are happy that All India Adult Education Association chose Pondicherry as the venue of the Seminar. On behalf of the Government of Pondicherry and the population of this Territory I extend a warm welcome to all of you to Pondicherry. It is but our good fortune that you should meet in this town. This place has the virtue of combining in itself a pleasant climate and important historical memories. It has been a proud witness of a variety of a human endeavour. This place as you may see, has a culture of its own, which is a result of the mingling of Indian and French culture. The presence of Sri Aurobindo Ashram in Pondicherry has enhanced the importance of this place. Pondicherry's association with great poets and patriots like Subramania Bharathiar also adds to the glory of the place. I have no doubt you will enjoy your stay here and hope that the Seminar's deliberations will be of far-reaching significance.

This is a Conference of educationists, social reformers and social workers. Education is the birth right of every child and every citizen. It is also a life-long process. While on the one side expansion of universal primary education proceeds rapidly, side by side efforts for eradication of illiteracy among the adult population should be taken. A practical approach alone to the problem will yield expected results. Even under the scheme of primary education we are aware that there is considerable measure of relapse into illiteracy, apart from the fact there are large proportion of children who do not complete the full course of prescribed obligatory period of schooling. This wastage of resources is enormous. This should be and can be avoided by giving adequate attention for enrolment and retention of the youngsters.

In a country like ours which is wedded to democracy education is the condition, pre-requisite for the successful working of the Government. Thus education assumes a particular importance in our country. Happily we see there is an awakening in the country at present and emphasis has come to be laid increasingly on education of the youngsters and the adults. While we feel happy about this general progress, one cannot help feeling that there are still large sections of our society which are educationally backward and which are, therefore, unable to enjoy the fruit of the democratic set up. To overcome this situation, we must try to remove the existing educational imbalances. We must ensure that within the next few years, say 20 to 30 years, education spreads fully among all our people so that the people are entirely in a position to claim in a righteous manner the benefits of the democracy.

Rightly you have chosen the theme of this Seminar to be "Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy". In this context the role of education becomes extremely significant and urgent. Our concern for the removal of the existing educational imbalances must now translate itself into the vigorous action for spreading and improving adult education. We all agree that the path to universal literacy in our country is not smooth. It is, therefore, the duty of our educators, our educational administrators, our social reformers to apply themselves to solve this problem, as to how best the illiterate masses can be covered under the Adult Education Programme. They must ensure that the foundation of our educational structure is properly laid down so that democracy takes proper root. This education while having its roots in our cultural heritage should acquire also a new dimension to enable the future generation to raise the edifice of our new Indian Society. Any programme of mass education can be successful only if it becomes an inevitable complementary programme to every developmental programme and does not remain merely the responsibility of the Education Department.

In most the the advanced countries of the world, adult education in the liberal and comprehensive sense in which it is now considered had made remarkable progress in the past century. In our country, except for a few isolated, far-sighted individuals and a few voluntary organisations that laboured in this cause, there has not been much enthusiaasm and whole hearted support for this movement from Governmental sources. This is borne by evidence to the statement of the Education Commission which has sought to explain the purpose and the value of adult education to the Society. Perhaps, never before has so much emphasis been laid on the education of the masses as has been done by the Education Commission. In the words of the Commission "Education does not end with school but it is a life-long process. The adult to-day has a need of an understanding of the rapidly changing world and the growing complexity of the Society. Even those who had the most sophisticated education must continue to learn, the alternative is obsolescence" (Chapter XVIII). These words of the Commission sum up squarely the basic philosophy of Adult Education and what place it deserves in our Society.

The universal declaration of human rights proclaims that every individual has the right to education. Similarly, the constitution of the UNESCO states that the education of all and wide diffusion of culture are indispensable to the dignity of men. In the context of a welfare State our own efforts have been attracted towards the goal of universal literacy. But it is indeed tragic that in spite of such declaration still out of every four persons in the country three are illiterate. Further the level of literacy by any educational standards is very low. A vast majority of those who are considered literate can just read and write a few lines. We are yet far away from what is desired, *viz.*, functional literacy which is so necessary for advancement of Society. The rate of growth of literacy which has been of the order of less than 1% during the past decade has been extremely slow as compared to the rate of the increase in the strength of population during the same decade which was of the order of 2¼%. It is true that the number of literates during the period went up high but the population growth has been even higher. In the result the total number of *illiterates* in the country has been increasing with every passing year. The illiteracy among women is on high side and similar is the case with the rural population.

The biggest hurdle in any campaign of removal of illiteracy is of course the mass inertia. The importance of literacy is not realized because no immediate tangible result can be expected from the literacy and no return which could be calculated in physical or financial terms can be furnished within a short period from attainment of literacy. Therefore, I feel there should be proper impulse for making the illiterates participate in literacy programmes.

Hitherto we have been used to look upon illiteracy only as something of a social evil. We have not yet realized that it could be an important factor obstructing the development of the Nation in so many respects. Proper education is essential for every one, for the workers in the factories, the farmers and labourers in the fields, in any programme to step up agricultural yields and industrial production. The application of modern technology has the potentiality of raising the output, three fold or four fold and only an educated citizenry alone can make use of the scientific techniques of production.

The education of the adults can also be an important factor to the social progress of the country and can be regarded as an essential supplement for the progress of the young, as it will help considerably the success of the education programme among the young.

It is my personal view that it would be unrealistic and perhaps even unnecessary to think of covering the entire population under literacy programme. Many of them are aged 60 and above. In a country like ours where the problem is colossal and the resources limited, adult literacy programme in my opinion, should be primarily for those who are in the teen age group and then in the working age group who have some years left for work after acquisition of literacy. Account must also be taken of the fact that after a certain age an adult would not normally be inclined or even be able to take to literacy, and its follow-up in adult education.

The literacy should involve the whole society without being merely confined to the school. It needs the co-operation of all, particularly, the local authorities, educational and cultural bodies, public and private enterprises, youth and women organisations. The success of the programme will depend upon the involvement of the largest number of agencies and people. I feel that every educated person in the country should evince an interest in the forwardness of the nation by contributing his share in the liquidation of illiteracy among adults. Besides if our Universities extend also their co-operation, we would be able to plan and implement schemes for adult education in a larger scale and in a more useful manner. To-day, this hall has a large assembly of Heads of Universities, National and International Centres of learning and institutions of higher education. I have no doubt you will be evolving suitable programmes of co-operation and adult education and plan for conducting as many courses of studies as feasible for adults which will succeed in keeping us progressively away from the danger of illiteracy which has affected the generation in the past.

The success of national literacy depends upon creating an appropriate agency that would provide the facilities in the villages as well as towns in the form of libraries, book service, etc. Still in our country, the technique of bulk production of suitable books for adults is to develop. If mass literacy campaign is to be taken up in real earnest, production of books on an immense scale would have to be taken up. For this purpose we need competent writers in different languages and also we should know the techniques of bulk production of books at cheap rates.

As you are aware, even if only the illiterates in the age group of 15-45 are included in the national programme for eradication of illiteracy, the task is by no means small. The necessity of achieving the end in a short period demands therefore thinking about techniques and remodelling traditional techniques to suit our present needs. The difficulties that may arise due to lack of qualified teachers and the number of illiterates involved can be offset by the utilisation of the modern means like the radio, film, etc., and certain other forms of programmed instructions. The modern techniques will add a new dimension to the methodology of adult education and will create proper motivation for learning in the enthusiastic adults.

It is most appropriate that a National Seminar like this should be arranged at the present time in our national life. I have not the least doubt that the Seminar would bring to bear upon the problems of adult education, the wisdom and experience of its participants and show the way towards the successful solution of the problem of illiteracy in this country. I am convinced that only through such co-operative and co-ordinated thinking of enlightened persons that we would be solving the problems of national reconstruction. In fact, it has got to be admitted that we have still to go a long way in developing ourselves into a dynamic modern society. We are on the true path of national regeneration and if we continue the democratic way of life with a firm faith in the future, we shall rapidly move towards the social, economic and spiritual goals we have set for our country.

I wish the deliberations all success.

THE NEED OF ADULT EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPING ENLIGHTENED POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Maganbhai Desai

At the outset, I may mention that the need for adult education must be studied from two angles—that of the leaders of the people,—I mean those who keenly feel that the common adult in our land requires to be enlightened: those like us who think that this work of removing the adult political illiteracy in our country has been neglected too long, and immediate steps must be taken to remedy the situation before it is too late for democracy to survive.

The other angle is that of the adult themselves : how do they feel for themselves in regard to the need to do something for themselves? What do they really need to be done unto them by their leaders and their rulers. I mean, the classes that have assumed political power on their behalf ?

And this angle is more important than the former, because we can succeed in our efforts, however elaborate they may be, and he will respond to them, only to the extent the illiterate common adult—male and female, really feels something like a challenge to himself in the situation he finds for himself under the changed circumstances of freedom and democracy.

Here I may profitably quote Sardar Sohan Singhji (Adult Education, May, 1968, p. 3) where he says—

> "Adult education in the colourless sense of an adult learning things he had not learnt earlier, is a phenomenon coeval with mankind...It is only when adult education occurs in the context of a social problem, when, that is to say, individual men and women organise themselves to receive new learnings in order to stand up to new challenges that they face in common, that I accept it as adult education that is our proper study."

To put the matter tersely, are we goaded to mind this work by the very compulsions of our immediate problems that face us,—both the elite and the adult mass of our people ?

And it is obvious that the advent of political freedom and democracy based on adult suffrage both for men as well as women, is itself a potent compulsion, if only we are awake to it. And with the lapse of twenty years of freedom, covering during that period, four general elections along with four 5-years' Plans for national development,—there is awareness of the need,—to an extent we had not it before,—to do something about adult education for developing enlightened political consciousness among the people.

II

The second point I wish to note is about the impact of what our Government and the leadership of the land actually did about the great job of conducting the affairs of one of the greatest democracies of the world, though born anew. For, it is a truism that the common man living in a democracy is unknowingly and automatically educated by what goes on around him and for him by way of Government administration. Has the new order that is with us during the twenty years of freedom behaved in such a manner that the common man might be led to consciously participate in it and profit thereby? What kind of political enlightenment did he intuitively imbibe from what went on during the two decades of the working of our democracy ?

This question will require us to assess what adult educational value we unknowingly carried to our people through our policies of planning and development, the way and the manner in which we approached the adult voter during the elections, the manner of our public administration including education; and so on.

I may only mention one thing here that what I would term as the 'English Language Curtain', like the Iron or the Bamboo curtain of the political field,—almost negates active participation by the adult, due to the simple reason that the public affairs of our democracy including educatian are not still conducted in the language of the common man. The medium of instruction and administration and even enlightenment continues as of old, stopping the percolation of modern knowledge and information about the new world and the order we begin to live under,—to the downward strata of our people.

III

A third thing that I desire to note is about the need of compulsory basic or fundamental education of our children, vis-a-vis, its bearing on the question of adult education. Not only adult suffrage, but also the fundamental education of our world-be citizenry, is intimately inter-woven with adult education. The crushing back-load of adult illiteracy and the deplorable lack of social education for primary citizenship could have been easily liquidated if only we had by now implemented the Constitutional Directive of State Policy in regard to Basic elementary education of our children upto 14 years of their age. We would have thereby secured to ourselves a new literate body of young men and women, feeling an inner need for further education and for more effective and enlightened participation in the affairs of our new democracy.

I am reminded here of the Father of our Nation warning us about this as early as 1938, when the first rays of freedom began to lighten our land. He told us two things : on the one hand he gave us his concept of fundamental basis of education for our would-be citizens, inunciating therein three or four basic things that should go to reform and rebuild our national system of education. The other thing that he told us was to educate our Principals—the common men and women who will vote to give to themselves their democratic government. And in 1948, just on the eve of his final departure from our midst, he told us to reconstruct the Congress to be reborn as a Lok-Sevak Sangh. Veritably such a Sangh would have been a huge voluntary army of true adult educational workers, showing to the people the ways and the means of tackling the great problem of meeting the challenge of the tall democratic order that Swaraj has confronted all of us with both the elite and the non-elite, the classes and the masses, the rulers and the ruled, the Government and the people ?

And I beg to submit here that what Gandhiji called the Constructive Programme is a veritable mine of need-based items for organizing fruitful adult education, to the end that our people might grow to, developing for themselves all-round aptitudes and attitudes also for actively participating in building up a truly democratic order.

IV

At the end, as regards the varieties of this need, I may better quote Prof. Maurice Bruce (Adult Education, Nov. 1968, p. 10) where he says:

> "Amid all the discussion of plans for providing adult education the needs and interests of the students themselves must not be overlooked. What will they want, and will what they want fit conveniently into administrative categories ?
>
> "Four main types of need can perhaps be identified. There is first, and most obviously, what might be called the "general cultural" aspect of adult education, the interest of people, whatever their educational background, in the study of a subject for its own sake, for the enlargement of experience and understanding which it gives them, and, indeed, for sheer pleasure. Under this head must be included the concept of "new light" of knowledge only recently discovered, which conveys its own appeal.
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> "Secondly, there are many courses of professional interest, providing a background of understanding to professional and similar tasks.
>
> "Thirdly, there are courses of a 'refresher nature' which are likely to become increasingly important with the advance of knowledge and the increase in the number of people with educational qualifications.
>
> "Finally, there are courses of an intensive nature, exploring a limited area of knowledge in depth, and intended, in the main, for people without much educational background, who can nevertheless be carried forward in a limited field, provided that the conditions and guidance are of the right kind."

2

SCOPE AND PROGRAMMES FOR PROMOTION OF ENLIGHTENED POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

J.C. Mathur

In discussing the scope and programme of adult education for parliamentary democracy, it is necessary to begin with the two proverbial horns of dilemna in which the democratic process finds itself involved in India. First, the ideals of parliamentary democracy seem to be based upon certain middle-class values. The examples of these values are to follow the rules of the game, to listen to various points of view, to give a fair opportunity to the opponent, to raise issues through constitutional methods, to accept the judgment of the majority even if adverse, to be polite in expresssion even if unsparing in criticism, to have regard for symbols of authority created by the democratic institutions and in any case not to allow the angry word to generate into angry act. These are admittedly middle-class values, restraints upon instincts for unriddled expression and instantaneous responses.

So long as political activity in India was largely in the hands of men from the educated middle-classes, these rules of the games, so to say, were generally observed and standards of behaviour were determined by these values. But the inner contradiction in parliamentary democracy is that it seeks to bring into the forum of political institutions, men from the masses who have not had the opportunity of cultivating middle-class values. It is a seeming anomaly that government of the people, for the people and by the people depends for its smooth running upon the values of a rather limited class. This contradiction creates tensions and the new leadership from the villages and the small towns attributes the adherence to these values the desire of the middle-classes to continue to deny a dominating position to the have-nots.

The second aspect of the dilemma is that in the past, democracy has often been painted in brighter colours than in merits. Particularly in India the ideals of parliamentary democracy have been repeatedly and constantly glorified because there was in the past so little opportunity to practise those ideals. It was nice to paint the idealistic picture based on books and speeches because before independence, there was little opportunity to share the responsibility of administration and authority. With the coming of independence and the exposure to the rough and tumble of managing affairs, the seamy side of parliamentary democracy came to light. The reaction was one of disillusionment. This is not surprising because the concept of parliamentary democracy in India was nursed all along by the intellectual classes. These intellectual classes identified the ideals of parliamentary democracy not with Chankya, the pragmatic Brahmin, but with the Rishis of the Upnishdic times, the Brahmins of the idealistic kind. The intellectuals of India have been as chary of admitting into the folds of the democratic process the shrewed tactics of the Chankya code as of accepting todays lobbies, conflicts, power pursuits, pressure groups etc., as part and parcel of the democratic experience. It would thus be seen that while on the one hand middle-class values are causing bafflement to the new leadership coming from the masses, on the other, the intellectual middle-classes are feeling deeply hurt and disillusioned by the emergence, during the practice of parliamentary democracy of some polluting features.

The task of adult education will have to be to bring about a reconciliation of the two extreme positions through providing opportunities for enlightenment. It is, doubtful if either idealistic values of the middle-class could be, simply and unsullied, communicated to and accepted by the masses or the pragmatic attitudes could be automatically adopted by intellectual classes. Values, good or bad, cannot be taught. They have to grow through experience and adjustments.

Enlightenment has three aspects, the assimilation of values (which as stated above is a slow process), access to information and practice in methods of self expression and execution of programmes. The last two, namely, access to information and practice in methods of self-expression and execution of programmes, indicate the scope for the promotion of enlightened political consciousness and activity. Here too, we have to remind ourselves of certain historical circumstances. Most of the leaders in political activity before independence had come from the professional classes such as lawyers and educationists. Lawyers had special facilities for practising the technique of collecting information and presenting it in a logical and forceful manner. That is why in the pre-independence legislatures as well as in the early days of Parliament in India the standard of debates was high. Even the leaders of trade unions who learnt the techniques of bargaining as well as strategic agitation, had some practical "lessons" in collecting information and presenting their point of view effectively.

This kind of training gives to the leadership a sense of confidence which is a basis for consistent and orderly behaviour in public bodies. Though much of the behaviour in our legislature noticed recently could be attributed to resentment against majority power, some of it would also seem to be a psychological manifestation of the want of self-confidence resulting from inadequate access to information and insufficient practice in the techniques of self-expression such as speech-making, debating, organising committee-work, etc.

It is necessary to start this training fairly early, partly as an ancillary to college education and partly as an adult education programme for young leaders in small towns and rural areas. It is fashionable to decry good speech-making these days. While a return to the nineteenth century orations is out of the question, there is every need to give to young adults a thorough grounding in the techniques of oral presentation, in the methods of compiling information and in the ways and means of active and effective participation in the group-structure. Self-confidence born of such practical training will foster among the trainees some of the values that are being ruefully missed these days.

However, it cannot be denied that indifference to the accepted instruments of parliamentary democracy such as debates and committee work came naturally to the new post-independent leadership which thought in terms of the immediate appeal to the electorate. The immediate appeal was based upon the advantages that could be obtained by the leaders for their constituents from the administration through either agitation or influence and the sensations that could be created by getting into the head-lines through odd behaviour. The electorate consists of the masses who had known by experience under the British rule that authority understand either the language of indirect pressures at various decision making levels or that of agitations. They could not and have not yet be fully convinced that it was possible for constitutional means to succeed. An important task of Adult Education is, therefore, the education of the electorate in the responsibilities of democratic citizenship.

Here too, it is not just a question of communicating the essentials of our constitution to adult learners. This has been done from time to time. Our weakness has been to ignore the methodology of the adult learning process. Perhaps, we may have to consider afresh the contents of what was known as 'social education' as well as the techniques of imparting it. The programme should not only aim at imparting information, it should also ensure opportunity for listening to the others point of view and for expressing one's own. Much of our social education in citizenship has been so far a one-way process. We have produced literature, arranged broadcasts, exhibited films, displayed charts. But we have not seen to it that the adult learner is able to practise them even through what are known as 'Mock Parliaments' and similar institutions. We had arranged some training programmes for village leaders under the Community Development Department but I do not know to what extent that programme was practical. In any case, it was not carried to the bulk of the electorate ; it was essentially a leadership programme, though at the basic level.

As I have more than once stated, the practical opportunity could, perhaps, be provided through the formation of small groups for discussions and mutual self-interest. But such discussion groups have to be functional, vocational and have to cover a large number of villages while still retaining the optimum membership at about 20 each.

The discontent of the young people with Parliamentary Democracy today is also because by and large the voter is a passive participant in the democratic process. If we want him to become an active participant, he must have more opportunity for training. Political leadership tends to think in terms of short-term advantages. It is unlikely that they would unhesitatingly welcome the formation of small groups at the grass-root level. My feeling is that if a beginning is made with them as educational and professional groups rather than power-groups, there would be far less suspicion and neglect. I am aware that they cannot be allowed to remain merely educational groups. But if small power groups have to arise, let them do so after the phase of education through small groups has had its initial run. I may here add that in those areas such as the Punjab, where the new strategy of agriculture based on high-yieding seeds, intensive use of inputs and multiple cropping, is rapidly spreading, the prospects of plenty are already leading to the emergence of new interest groups such as farm labour bargaining for higher wages, small farmers pressing for larger share in scarce inputs, mechanics and operators clamouring for more technical facilities. Political parties will no doubt perceive their potential and surround them with short-term blandishments. If, however, those emerging interests have to play a sound role in the politics of development they should first be exposed to an educational process deriving its content and methods from their economic and vocational needs.

An important element in a programme of political consciousness is the extent and degree of responsiveness in the Establishment. The Establishment includes the bureaucracy, the executives of cooperatives and various non-government financial and administrative organisations and other institutions of that kind in the infra-structure. Bureaucracy in India has created the image of a body that shows concern either as a result of orders from above or under the pressure of overwhelming agitation. It has not adjusted itself to the need of showing quick response to the pressures arising from the democratic methods. Of course, questions in Parliament and the Parliamentary Debate are always regarded with respect. But generally the individual officer in Government has to choose his priority for action when under a multiplicity of pressures. Choice is made under a mentality born and bred during the pre-independence period. A thing becomes important the moment there is an indication that the Minister or a high official is interested in it. It is still the wishes of the boss that seem to determine the pace of action of many an individual officer. While structures like those recommended by the Administrative Reforms Commission, may make the mechanism more responsive, the real problem is that of the education of the individuals who constitute the bureaucracy whether in Government Departments or in credit-giving bodies or any other agencies. Here it can be possible to foster values as well as techniques because most of this personnel belong to the middle-classes and therefore, be amenable to the call of values. Several programmes of in-service training have been taken up lately by various agencies and institutions. But to what extent they have emphasised this human approach is doubtful. Adult education has, therefore, to formulate a programme which will make the Establishment more responsive to the environment as well as specific needs of parliamentary democracy.

I have referred here to the need of focussing attention upon the individual for making the Establishment a more active instrument of parliamentary democracy. But in the wider context of the future of parliamentary democracy a fresh look at the education of the individual adult (as distinguished from that of the citizenry in general) is an imperative. This is because, unlike the limited direct democracy of ancient sparta and Athens or of India's Vaisali (Lichhavis) and Yaudheyas, representational democracy today does not give the individual average citizen the chance to influence decision-making directly or even to express an effective resentment against decisions and policies in time to have them reversed. This points to two situations arising, one in which the parties become the chess-board for self-interest of only a few, baffling the voter to such an extent as to make him lose all faith in the democratic process. The other situation is of the emergence of the 'massman'—to use the term so pertinently emphasised by Dr. Adiseshiah, in his paper. This mass-man, an illegitimate product of democracy and mass-media leads the average citizen into the mood of accepting the dictatorship and its charisma as an inevitable process.

The partial remedy to this state of affairs is what I have discussed earlier in this paper namely, the imparting of the skills of access to information sources and of self-expression. Discussion, forum, letters to the editor and seminars are the workshops for learning the skills as well as channels of participation in the democratic process.

But this is only a partial remedy, as the sorry experience of the Western Society in between the Wars and during the 'Cold War' since, has shown. This has been vividly described in the quotation from Guehenno to which Dr. Adiseshiah, has drawn our attention.

The essence of the education of the individual citizen is not only the skills and information, but what is more difficult to grasp—knowledge. This word knowledge is hard to be fixed in the framework of a difinition. It is far beyond 'literacy', it is much more than 'education'. We, the elite and the intellectual type are no better than our less qualified brethren, on the threshold to this shrine. If anything, we are rather handicapped by our ego. For the door to knowledge lies through the narrow path of anti-ego, of humility of tolerance. Ego, vanity and intolerance are the hidden and perilous icebergs of the oceanic mind of the intellectual. And those are the very perils of parliamentary democracy—led in most countries by the so called educated.

Thus, I am forced to the conclusion that for parliamentary democracy we may need two steps—one, a carefully planned organization of training in citizenship and skills of self-expression for the voter, the boss, the legislator and the decision maker; the other, a campaign for the re-education of the educated.

This latter seems to be beyond the competence of the educators—including ourselves here. We are well-informed, well-intentioned seekers and organisers. But we are amateurs in the basic science of living. Who are the professionals ? Last night I was on my first visit to the Shri Aurobindo Ashram. And I felt overpowered repeatedly by a sense of my inadequacy. For some moments I hovered upon the fringes of humility. Hovered only, for the sharp pull of my ego was too strong, and alas, I lost no time in relapsing into my basic illiteracy.

Friends, this is my problem and yours—how to overcome the basic illiteracy of human personality. Beyond the skills of the three R's, of the technique of self-expression, of the soarings of intellectualism, lies the basic illiteracy of human personality—the thirsty and ferocious ego. The roots of the violence, the disorderliness, the intolerance seen at various levels in our incipient democracy also lie in this ego. And, therefore, perhaps our plan for adult education for parliamentary democracy would not be meaningful without including in its scope this primary need of human personality, often so conveniently pushed into the background.

A NATIONAL PLAN OF ADULT EDUCATION FOR PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Some Suggestions

by

Meher C. Nanavatty

Introduction :

Adult Education in its basic content has to reflect education of citizens for the prevailing system of government of the country. In India, adult education, by its very requirement, has to promote citizenship education for democracy. This has been reflected in the contents of adult education programme from the very beginning. Even before independence adult education classes run by the university teachers emphasised preparation for democracy besides national awakening for independence. Adult education, as a constructive work activity under Gandhiji's influence, was related to the same emphasis besides making it a part of the social movement for independence. In fact during the independence movement adult education became, alongwith other constructive work programmes, an instrument of social change. Since independence, the emphasis on the fulfilment of social responsibility by the citizen, as laid down in the Constitution, was indicated by change in the nomenclature of adult education. "Social education" was conceived as an educational process for social change and development. Education for the promotion of social values was emphasised as a programme of adult education. Thus it could be said that education of adults for democratic system of government has been an integral part of the programme of adult education. The present emphasis, as reflected in the selection of the theme for the National Seminar, is possibly meant to remind the adult educators and the Nation of the importance of systematising the programme content of adult education for citizenship education in parliamentary democracy.

2. Before the details of the programme of adult education for democracy are considered, two basic questions need to be examined. The nation adopted in its Constitution

universal adult franchise as a base for promoting democratic institutions of the government. How far the universal adult franchise without universal education can be considered as a sound proposition for social change and development ? It is argued on one hand that universal franchise is a symbol of independence; and the very process of such a franchise provides political education in democracy. Besides, an illiterate adult need not be considered as an ignorant citizen. Throughout the centuries the wisdom of the age has been transmitted from generation to generation through customs, traditions and folklores. Given the right to vote the adult citizen is bound to measure up to the requirements of his obligation as a citizen. On the other hand it is argued that the "democracy of illiterate citizens" is not equipped to deal with the problems of modern technological age. Absence of adequate understanding and knowledge of the complicated process of social and economic life among the citizens leaves the democratic government to the mercy of the intellectual elite and the economically powerful political groups. Only an enlightened citizenship can ensure healthy democratic conventions and traditions. Possibly the truth of the situation lies in the middle. It is true that the experience of the past elections have amply shown that the electorate can rise to the occasion and show signs of understanding the political change. It is also true that ignorance of the electorate continues to be exploited by the economically and socially powerful forces to their own interest. The "mass-mind" can be created in favour of one or another party by exploiting the prevailing ignorance of the masses. It is therefore necessary to recognise that after providing universal adult franchise in the Constitution, it is necessary to ensure universal adult education for all citizens as a national obligation for a healthy and more rational social system. In a democratic set up this obligation is both of the government as well as of the citizen.

3. The second question that is being raised is how early can the universal education be ensured? It is necessary to realise that school education is the base of adult education, which in its contents, provides enrichment of life besides continuation of educational experience. Unfortunately in the Indian context, as in almost all developing countries, the programme of adult education has to provide for literacy education for adults. This in itself has proved one of the greatest handicaps of adult education. Adults who have no experience of school

education do not respond favourably to adult education. This is what the last twenty years of experience in adult education since independence has shown. The progress in making adults literate is very slow. Only 28% of the adults could be made literate. Besides, in terms of number, every year the addition to the total illiterate population is greater than what has been made literate. The emphasis therefore has to be laid on universal school education besides providing adult education for selective groups. Fortunately more than 80% of children attend schools, where some lessons of citizenship education in democracy could be given in a systematic way to the majority of the future citizens. This is the area of development which requires greater recognition by adult educators than what has been given in the past. School education is basic to adult education in terms of the foundation it lays in future adults for democratic citizenship.

Past Experiences in Citizenship Education for Adults:

4. Past experiences in promoting citizenship education among adults offer an interesting analysis. In the general adult literacy classes of short duration of four to six months, education for the voting rights of adult citizen was emphasised alongwith literacy. Although no systematic evaluation of such experience was made available, it was known in some areas, that if the total social education programme, inter-relating cultural activities with adult literacy and education was promoted as a movement on continuous basis, it made its mark in the voting pattern at the local election. Some of the candidates for municipal election were feeling concerned about the questions that the adults would ask at the social education contres on their past services to the citizens of the area. Even some efforts were reported to have been made to transfer local workers to facilitate election. This showed an impact of systematic work in some areas through citizenship education for democracy. But the extent of such influence was very limited. As referred in the working paper, less than one per cent of the total adult population took advantage of such facilities. However, the potentiality of the impact of adult education was noticed. Unfortunately the enthusiasm of '40s and '50s for adult education work do not prevail in '60s. Today possibly the adult education activities are at their lowest ebb.

5. The experience of establishing Vidyapeeths and Janta Colleges as another area of work for promoting citizenship

education needs to be acknowledged. The Folk High Schools movement in Scandinavian countries, specially Denmark, had a special lesson for our country. Inspired by the experiences of Folk High Schools, efforts were made to initiate Vidyapeeths and Janta Colleges to provide local leadership with activities of adult education. Besides the programme of leadership training and adult literacy, emphasis was laid on understanding the democratic system of voting for local bodies and State and Central legislatures. This movement had great potentiality. Unfortunately the efforts at promoting Janta Colleges proved abortive. Possibly the wrong policy of admission and the governmental auspices besides poor professional leadership in organising such activities contributed to their failure. In fact if the programme of adult literacy and education is systematically provided and the institutions of Vidyapeeths utilised selectively for the training of community leaders in promoting development, such an effort can still prove useful. Experiences of running Vidyapeeths, specially in Mysore, have proved useful and are still continuing. The Vidyapeeths movement for citizenship education needs to be revived in other parts of the country with few adaptation.

6. The much publicised experiment of Maharashtra of organising Gram Shiksha Mohim, under which the whole village community took pledge to wipe out illiteracy within a given period, met with humble successes. The achievement was celebrated with pomp for making every adult know how to sign his or her name. This movement had great potential. It showed the need for creating social climate for adult literacy work in every local community. At one time it was indicated that the programme would cover the whole country in Fourth Plan. But like many other experiences the movement lost interest and remained confined to Maharashtra. It also had inherent limitation of inadequate follow-up to stabilise what was created through social climate.

7. There was a time when audio-visual aids were emphasised for promoting adult education programmes. It was said that in the country where adult literacy is not more than 25%, the only alternative left was the use of audio-visual aids, including radio, films (and now television). The most sought for programmes were Farmers' Forum and film shows. Efforts were made to provide information on democratic participation in Panchayats, State and Central legislatures through current

events. These activities still continue in the field to some extent. However, it was observed that mere audio-visual aids, without participating activities on the part of the adults through discussion, did not provide a lasting effect. A system of group participation in discussion on current events bear better results than mere films or radio talks. This experience needs also to be supplemented with ability to read newspapers so that opportunities for reflection are provided to the adults.

8. Recent emphasis on functional literacy too has a lesson to reflect. It is argued that literacy has no attraction for adults as it does not bear economic return. If literacy is related to occupations such as agriculture, carpentary, smithy, it will have attraction for adults as well as usefulness. Although this is true, it tells only half the story. Man does not live by bread alone. He is a social being. Besides, democracy throws political responsibility on him. Therefore, functional literacy to be useful, should also equip him to fulfil the functions of a citizen. Over-emphasis on economic aspect of functional literacy, which too is showing signs of inadequacy, would leave adult education incomplete.

9. The involvement of Universities in providing Departments of Adult Education is a welcome emphasis, specially to provide leadership of thought and ideas for the effective promotion of adult education activities in the field. A discipline of adult education is still to be developed with adequate body of knowledge and technique. Citizenship education has still to acquire the focus of Adult Education Departments of some of the Universities. Unfortunately very few universities, possibly not more than five out of sixty five, have such departments. Besides, there is a need for study and research in patterns of voting, the effect of casteism of voting, the participation of citizens in democratic institutions, democracy as a system of values of citizens, etc. Such studies can throw much light on the content of education for citizenship.

Impact of Community Development and Panchayati Raj:

10. Possibly the most extensive coverage of adult education was provided for citizens in rural areas through the programme of Community Development and Panchayati Raj. In fact both these programmes in themselves provided education for change, besides emphasising extension education for agriculture, animal husbandry housing, health, education,

welfare, etc. It gave at one time the greatest support to the social education activities. The movement of Community Development was a programme of change and development of rural communities. It focussed country's attention to rural development and raised the expectations of the rural people. The introduction of inter-related Panchayati Raj institutions, as a second phase of Community Development movement, provided institutional set up for democratic participation of villagers. But setting up of institutions in only one aspect of democracy. People are to be equipped to make use of such institutions in the interest of the Community. Only adequate provision of adult education can achieve this. A useful beginning was made with the starting of Panchayati Raj Training Centres for elected respresentatives of people. Possibly this was for the first time that the elected representatives of people were offered facilities of formal training in their responsibilities, at all levels, namely, the Panchayat, the Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad. Unfortunately with the declining interest in the Community Development Programme, the climate of awakening and change that was created has lost its lustre. A very useful adult education programme in citizenship that was promoted through Community Development and Panchayati Raj has suffered a set back.

A Few Lessons to Recollect :

11. These experiences of the past could open new avenues of future work for education in citizenship if some of the lessons that have been indicated are learnt with understanding. The adult education programme to be useful as education in citizenship has to have an ideational base. Mere emphasis on functional contents, techniques, or even funds do not bear the lasting results. The adult education worker has to be an inspired individual with belief and commitment. He needs to be given inspiration and support continuously in his work. Like the contribution of the Fabian Society to the Worker's Education movement in U.K. or the early experience of Danish Folk High Schools the supportive services for the adult education worker should come from a movement inspired by idealists. The Government organisation, by its very set up, is not equipped to provide the required ideational slant. It has to come from the voluntary and professional organisations. Even for the voluntary and professional organisations mere dependency on government for grants weakens the soul. It is true at the same

time that a national plan for citizenship education requires joint support of government and the voluntary and professional organisations. However to the extent the voluntary sector is not strong the movement remains weak. It is, therefore, necessary to have a strong base of voluntary organisations throughout the country. The present emphasis on strong apex with a weak base, needs to be replaced by a broad based field organization. Unless this is provided the programme is not likely to have its roots in the life of the people. Basic structural foundation is a first important step.

12. The question would naturally be asked as to how the basic structural foundation for citizenship education be set up. In this context it is useful to realise that if the programme of adult education is conceived as a separate activity from other programmes of social development and change, then the departmentalisation sets in the promotion of organisational set up. Even if the State and National organisations are set up separately for the promotion of adult education programmes, they need to work with other allied organisations to provide the structural foundation. The labour movement, the student youth movement, the cooperative movement, social welfare organisations, professional organisations, the Panchayati Raj institutions and the schools, all have similar or allied objectives to promote services in the community. Their association becomes vital to the promotion of the programme of citizenship education among people. A climate of cooperation at all levels requires to be created to secure services of available resources. This is the lesson that the Gram Shiksha Mohim indicated.

13. Having acknowledged the importance of a broad based structural organisation for promoting citizenship education among people, it is necessary to consider the utilisation of certain selective groups and organisations in the promotion of the programme. To begin with the teachers and the educationists, who have uptil now kept aloof from the adult education movement to a considerable extent, needs to be brought in the picture intimately. It would not be wrong to say that very few planners and administrators of education programme in the country have shown real commitment to adult education work. Although we have amidst us educationists of the standing of Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta as our leader, very few university teachers, education administrators and school teachers have volunteered to support the cause of adult education. This is

indeed unfortunate. One more effort needs to be made to secure their cooperation through their organizations.

14. Next to educationists is the need for securing support of the university students in promoting citizenship education among illiterate citizens. Having received the benefit of higher education they should consider it a privilege to serve people through adult education activities. A new climate of service by the youth needs to be created in the universities. This will also help in diverting their energy from the present impasse to constructive channels. It needs, however, to be acknowledged that the services of the student youth can only be utilised selectively for creating the required atmosphere in the community for adult education. Their proper orientation to the programme needs to form the basis of their work.

15. The Trade Union movement is another vital sector which remains untapped. Although some efforts were made to associate adult education with worker's education, the impact is very limited. Till the Trade Union movement itself adopts adult education as a necessary programme as was done in U.K. as a result of the influence of Fabian Society, the programme of adult education is not likely to gather momentum.

16. Next to the Trade Union is the vast coverage of social welfare organisations, nearly six thousands in number, which could be utilised with advantage to promote citizenship education among their members specially women and adolescents. The association of Women's organisations is another important area of contact and influence.

17. To suggest active participation of all these organizations should not imply that in the past no effort was made in this direction. It is true that efforts were made to get some of these organisations interested in adult education activities. But they remained ad-hoc and spasmodic. What is suggested is not only association but utilisation of all those organisations for adult education activities. They should be encouraged to take to adult education as a supportive activity to their own programme. This will not only strengthen their work but secure support to adult education.

A Few Suggestions for the Programme

18. Citizenship education for democracy, as indicated earlier, should become an important base of school and college

education for all children and youth. That will ensure at least some knowledge of the working of democratic institutions among the future adult citizens. To the extent to which practice in democratic values is provided in schools and colleges, the younger generation will acquire better understanding. It is true that a period of transition should be provided to the youth for shifting from the influence of authoritarian pattern of decision making at home, in the caste and religious groups, to the acquiring of democratic values as way of life. It has to be a continuous process of education for change in system of values.

19. Having ensured good education in schools, it would be profitable to take up selective groups of citizens, *viz.*, youth and young adults in trade unions, work places and recreational centres, and promote facilities of citizenship education through small groups on intensive basis. This is likely to bear better results than to spread out limited resources to larger coverage.

20. The programme of functional literacy among farmers and workers should be seen in the total context of community life. Efforts should be made to avoid isolation of economic interests from social obligation. Functional literacy should equip adults to function effectively in the community in relation to political, economic and social organisation. The present effort at functional literacy needs to be given a new version of functional requirements of adult life. Similarly in the educational programme of cooperative members greater quantum of citizenship education is needed, besides giving information on cooperative laws and accounts.

21. The early efforts to set up Training Centres for Panchayat members and office bearers under Community Development movement needs to be revived and extended to cover members of the State and Central legislatures. Although the membership of these centres has to be kept voluntary, experiences in the past indicate that if the facility of informal education in parliamentary practices and conventions is provided adequately and with high standard of services and experiences, elected members would volunteer to join such study courses. The hunger for knowledge and improvement continues to prevail among all adults, including the elected representatives of the people.

22. To facilitate all these activities and to provide leadership of ideas and thoughts, it is necessary to promote

institutions of the type of Vidyapeeth in each district to begin with and extend to subdivisions later. These institutions should be related to local needs and requirements and should reflect cultural background of people. They should provide facilities of training for local leaders and for youth. Their activities, by the very nature have to by multiple, relating to economic, social and political requirements, but with the under current of citizenship education. A movement of Vidyapeeth needs to be revived with suitable adaptation.

23. A national plan of adult education for democracy by its very nature has to be conceived as a whole with objectives and purpose, activities and programme, organisation and personnel. Some of the ideas expressed in this paper only provide suggestions for such a plan. What is required is a new vision of adult education to equip citizens for democratic system. With years of experience, mostly frustrations, the present programme of adult education seems to be of a routine nature. A new article of faith in adult education requires to be acquired and a climate of cooperation effectively promoted for making a success of the democratic institutions. The time is a vital factor in the present context. Unless democratic institutions are made to function effectively in the interest of people and the people helped to acquire faith and belief in democracy, the present process of planned development is likely to experience greater strain in its promotion.

Messages

President, Dr. Zakir Husain

I send my best wishes for the success of the Seminar on ''Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy'' organised by the Indian Adult Education Association. The Association is rendering valuable service in the cause of adult education and I am sure the Seminar on this important subject will prove fruitful.

Vice-President, Shri V. V. Giri

I am very happy to learn that the 16th Annual National Seminar to discuss ''Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy'' has been organised by your Association. Adult Education campaign symbolises the struggle of ordinary, illiterate citizens to catch up with the knowledge necessary to enable them to live decent and useful lives, to understand the world about them and the ideas which seemed to have significance in the situations in which they found themselves and above all to break through the barrier of inarticulateness which some times cut them off from their fellow-citizens. One of the major planks in the strategy of a society like ours which is determined to achieve economic development, social transformation and effective social security should be to educate its citizens to participate in its developmental programmes willingly, intelligently and efficiently. Adult education can equip people with the fundamental tools of learning to enable them to lead better, richer, fuller lives, the urge to seek the key to greater influence in public affairs and the ability to exercise intelligently the newly acquired rights of democratic citizenship. Widespread illiteracy is a severe handicap in the robust growth of the tender sapling—Parliamentary Democracy—and social advancement. Adult literacy therefore needs to be made functional in character and linked up with the work and life of the people so that it serves as a powerful instrument of rural regeneration and accent should be laid on follow-up measures to make literacy effective by provision of rural libraries, large-scale production of books conducive to the needs of neo-literates. The problem can be more effectively tackled at the level of popular, political leadership. I send my best wishes for the success of the Seminar.

Deputy Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai

Parliamentary Democracy expects every adult citizen to take a vital interest in public affairs in order that he may be able to discharge his civic responsibilities in an intelligent manner. This can be possible if all adult citizens have had the benefit of a formal education. It becomes necessary therefore that such of them as did not have that benefit should be helped to acquire it.

I am happy that Indian Adult Education Association has been serving this cause of Adult Education for the last thirty years through its varied programmes for enlightenment of the masses.

On the occasion of the organisation of the 16th Annual National Seminar on ''Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy,'' I send my very best wishes for its success.

Home Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan

It is with interest that I learn of the proposed Seminar of the Indian Adult Education Association on ''Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy''.

Democracy can become meaningful only when the debates and discussions on problems and policies that it presupposes are participated in by the largest possible number of people. Our effort should therefore be to educate and enlighten the people in an increasing measure to draw them into the mainstream of nation's political life. I hope that the proposed Seminar would help in that direction.

My good wishes.

Education Minister, Dr. Triguna Sen

I was very happy to learn that the Indian Adult Education Association is organising its 16th Annual National Seminar at Pondicherry from 26th to 29th December, 1968 and that over 100 delegates from all over the country would be participating therein. The choice of the theme for the Seminar—Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy—is also appropriate and I am quite sure that your deliberations will be of great use in educating public opinion on right lines so that democracy may be a success and help the country towards peace and prosperity. I wish your Seminar every success.

Tourism and Civil Aviation Minister, Dr. Karan Singh

I am glad to learn that Indian Adult Education Association is organising a Seminar on ''Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy'' at Pondicherry in December, 1968. Adult Education is of vital importance in the evolution of parliamentary democracy in our country and I hope the discussions at the Seminar will be stimulating. I send my good wishes.

Director-General of UNESCO, Shri Rene Maheu

Few organisations have contributed so much to the theory and practice of adult education as the Indian Adult Education Association. The immense proportions of the task ahead have inspired these men and women throughout the years rather than discouraged them ; the wealth of their experience and their willingness to share it with others are commensurate with their own thirst for learning from all sources.

They have proved that, thanks to the existence of an organised international community, those who work with courage, patience and clearsightedness towards the solution of their own country's problems can help others in far-away lands to make progress in the same direction.

The development of adult education in India as well as the progress of adult education throughout the world, which is a permanent priority objective of UNESCO, owes much to the leaders and workers of the Indian Adult Education Association.

State Minister For Education, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad

I am glad to know that the Indian Adult Education Association is organising the 16th Annual National Seminar to discuss ''Adult Education for Parliamentary Democracy''.

The importance of an educated electorate for the success of the Parliamentary Democracy cannot be exaggerated. Democracy confers on the citizens not only rights but also responsibilities. Without proper education citizens cannot participate to the best of their abilities in Parliamentary Democracy which is essential for the fulfilment of the responsibilities inherent in this system of the Government. Proper education for such purposes goes much beyond mere literacy ; it is a life-long process encompassing the unfoldment of all the best in the individual citizen so that he can make maximum contribution to the complex and challenging political, economic and social problems of modern times. In this context, our country, with its teeming illiterate masses of people, has a long way to go to fulfill the basic requirement of Parliamentary Democracy which we have willingly adopted as our system of Government.

I, therefore, welcome this timely Seminar on a topical subject of such vital importance for the development of our country. I hope that the deliberations of the Seminar will be fruitful and impart impetus to the efforts already under way to promote adult education in the whole country. I wish the Seminar every success.

Chief Minister of Mysore, Shri Veerendra Patil

I am happy to learn that the Indian Adult Education Association, New Delhi, is organising the 16th Annual National Seminar at Pondicherry in the last week of December 1968 to discuss the concept of Parliamentary Democracy and the role of the common man to make the experiment a success. It is quite imperative to propagate the ideals of democracy to those who are not enlightened. The Indian Adult Education Association is endeavouring to do its best to popularise the spirit of our Constitution and the rights involved in its working. I am sure the Pondicherry Seminar will highlight all these. I wish the National Seminar all success.

LIST OF DELEGATES

ANDHRA PRADESH

1. **Shri Chary, A.A.**, Lecturer, Government Training College, Warangal.

ASSAM

2. **Shri Sarma, D.**, State Social Education Officer, Government of Assam, Gauhati.

DELHI

3. **Shri Ansari, N.A.**, Reader, Deptt. of Adult Education, NCERT, 37 Friends Colony, New Delhi.
4. **Shri Begg, M.M.**, Principal, School of Correspondence Courses and Continuing Education, University of Delhi, Delhi.
5. **Smt. Bhatnagar, Bimla**, Lecturer, Deptt. of Adult Education, NCERT, 37 Friends Colony, New Delhi.
6. **Dr. Dharm Vir**, Deputy Director, International Cooperative Alliance, Regional Office and Education Centre, 43 Friends Colony, New Delhi.
7. **Shri Dutta, S.C.**, Hony. General Secretary, Indian Adult Education Association, 17-B Indraprastha Marg, New Delhi.
8. **Shri Gupta, N.R.**, Organising Secretary, Indian Adult Education Association, 17-B Indraprastha Marg, New Delhi.
9. **Shri Mathur, J.C.**, ICS, Additional Secretary, Deptt. of Agriculture, Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development & Cooperation, Krishi Bhavan, New Delhi.
10. **Shri Mathur, V.S.**, Asian Regional Secretary, I.C.F.T.U., C-3/4 Green Park Extension, New Delhi.

11. **Smt. Mathur, V.S.,** 20-P Green Park Extension, New Delhi.

12. **Shri Mohsini, S.R.,** Principal, Jamia School of Social Work, Jamia Nagar, New Delhi.

13. **Shri Mudgil, Janki Dass,** Office Superintendent, Delhi Electric Supply Undertaking, Link House, New Delhi.

14. **Shri Pant, N.K.,** Associate Director (Eco), School of Correspondence Courses and Continuing Education, University of Delhi, Delhi.

15. **Shri Pathik, S.R.,** Convener, Rural Adult Education Committee, Indian Adult Education Association, 17-B Indraprastha Marg, New Delhi.

16. **Shri Qanungo, Vidya Sagar,** Asstt. Accountant, Delhi Electric Supply Undertaking Union, House No. 228, DESU Colony, Tripolia, Subzi Mandi, Delhi.

17. **Shri Rastogi, Kapoor Chand,** Delhi Electric Supply Undertaking, B4/8 Krishna Nagar, Delhi.

18. **Shri Sachdeva, J.L.,** Reference and Documentation Officer, Indian Adult Education Association, 17-B, Indraprastha Marg, New Delhi.

19. **Shri Sharma, D.K.,** Delhi Electric Supply Undertaking, D-218, R.P.H. Colony, New Delhi.

20. **Shri Sharma, Devki Nandan,** Asstt. Labour Warden, Delhi Electric Supply Undertaking, Link House, New Delhi.

21. **Shri Sharma, Peare Lal,** Delhi Electric Suppy Undertaking, H. 227, DESU Colony, Tripolia, Subzi Mandi, Delhi.

22. **Shri Sharma, Rajinder Babu,** Secretary, Janta Vidyapeth, WZ-211 G Block, Hari Nagar, New Delhi.

23. **Dr. Singhvi, L.M.,** Executive Chairman, Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, Vithal Bhai Patel House, New Delhi.

GUJARAT

24. **Shri Bhatt, C.R.**, Social Education Officer & Secretary, Gujarat State Social Education Committee, Daria Mahal, Surat.

25. **Dr. Bhatt, G.P.**, Principal, D.G. Teachers College, Gangajala Vidyapeth, Aliabada.

26. **Shri Desai, Maganbhai P.**, 14, Navjivan Block, Ahmedabad.

27. **Shri Jani, Kanubhai Chhotalal**, Reader & Vice-Principal, M.D.S. College of Social Work, Gujarat Vidyapeth, Ahmedabad.

28. **Smt. Jani, Madhukanta Kanubhai**, Gujarat Vidyapeth, Ahmedabad.

HARYANA

29. **Dr. (Mrs.) Butt, H.M.**, Literacy Consultant, C/o Extension Education Institute, Nilokheri.

KERALA

30. **Shri Raghavan, S.**, Mitraniketan, Vellanad P.O. Trivandrum.

MADHYA PRADESH

31. **Smt. Agarwal, Krishna**, Chairman, Bhartiya Grameen Mahila Sangh, 316, Jawahar Lal Marg, Indore.

32. **Shri Agnihotri, P.K.**, Dy. Director of Social Welfare, Government of Madhya Pradesh, Directorate of Social Welfare & Panchayats, Bhopal.

33. **Shri Choudhary, Kailash Chandra**, Asha Shivan Kala Kendra, 988 Central Street, Mhow Cantt.

34. **Smt. Jacob, Florence**, Director & Secretary, Bhartiya Vidya Pracharni Sabha, Chainsing Ka Bag, Indore.

35. **Shri Pant, N.C.,** Secretary, Asha Shivan Kala Kendra, 215, Sangli Street, Mhow.

36. **Shri Pathak, Rajendra Kumar,** 286, Upprairgunj Klard Manjupath, Jabalpur.

37. **Smt. Shrivastava, Kripa Vati,** Samaj Shiksha Samiti, 1689, Napier Town, Jabalpur.

38. **Smt. Shrivastava, Sudha Rani,** Jai Vikas Sewa Sansthan, Sathia Kaun, Beohar Mahal, Jabalpur.

39. **Shri Shukla, Gore Lal,** Principal, Lal Bahadur Shastri Institute of Public Administration, Bhopal.

40. **Shri Tahenguria, K.P.,** Secretary, Jai Vikas Sewa Sansthan, Sathia, Kaun, Beoher Mahal, Jabalpur.

41. **Smt. Verma, Shakuntala,** Samaj Shiksha Samiti, 1289, Napier Town, Jabalpur.

MAHARASHTRA

42. **Smt. Danedkar, Kamal Anand,** Dy. Social Education Officer, Bombay City Social Education Committee, Adarsh Nagar, Worli, Bombay.

43. **Shri Deshpande, A.R.,** 88, West Park Road, Dhantoli, Nagpur.

44. **Shri Gadekar, Janardan Meghasham,** Asstt. Social Education Officer, Bombay City Social Education Committee, Samaj Shiksha Mandir, Adarsh Nagar, Worli, Bombay.

45. **Smt. Gadekar, Meena Janardan,** B-8/5, Kumar Cooperative Housing Society Ltd., Dayaldas Road, Vile Parle (E) Bombay, 57.

46. **Shri Gokhale, Sumeshwar Sadashiv,** Member, BCSEC, 176, Parsharam Wadi, J. Shankar Seth Road, Girgaum, Bombay-4.

47. **Shri Karambelkar, K.A.,** Member, Bombay City Social Education Committee, Samaj Shiksha Mandir, Adarsh Nagar, Worli, Bombay.

48. **Shri Manukar, Tanaji Vishwanath,** 542/21, N.M. Joshi Marg, Bombay-11.

49. **Shri Patil, B.R.,** Dy. Director of Education, Govt. of Maharashtra, Poona.

50. **Shri Sakapl, Baburao Bhaurao,** 31/2190, Abhyudaya Nagar, Kalachowky, Bombay-33.

MYSORE

51. **Shri Aswathanarayanaswamy, M.K.,** Research Student, Post Graduate Deptt. of Education, Bangalore University, Bangalore.

52. **Shri Basaviah, Kavadike,** General Secretary, Mysore State Adult Education Council, Krishnamurthipuram, Mysore.

53. **Miss Bhaskar, Jojhama,** Girls Compound, M. Bidai.

54. **Shri Khuraishi S.A.,** Head, Deptt. of Agriculture, Regional College of Education, Mysore.

55. **Rev. Mitra, H.G.,** Methodist Church, Chitlapur, Gulbarga Distt.

56. **Smt. Mitra, K.G.,** Methodist Church, Chitlapur, Gulbarga Distt.

57. **Shri Muniswamy, K.S.,** Chief Executive Officer, Mysore State Adult Education Council, Krishnamurthipuram, Mysore.

58. **Shri Samuel, S.K.,** Methodist Church, P.O. Ghataprabha, Belgaum Distt.

59. **Shri Sharp, D.P.,** Consultant in Agricultural Education, Regional College of Education, Mysore.

60. **Smt. Tirth, Lalitha,** Lecturer, Post Graduate Deptt. of Education, Bangalore University, Bangalore.

PONDICHERRY

61. **Shri Ranganathan, S.V.,** Harijan Welfare Officer, 117, Dussy St., Pondicherry.

62. **Shri Sivaprakasam, N.,** Special Officer for Planning, Govt. of Pondicherry, Pondicherry.

63. **Shri Somasundiram, C. Rattinasabapathy,** 131, Ambalattadayarmadama, Pondicherry.

RAJASTHAN

64. **Shri Bhai Bhagwan,** Principal, Janta College, Rajasthan Vidyapeth, Dabok, Udaipur.

65. **Shri Charan, Chandra Dan,** Principal, Bhartiya Vidya Mandir, Bikaner.

66. **Shri Kurawat, B.L.,** Dy. Director (Social Education), Education Department, Government of Rajasthan, Bikaner.

67. **Shri Lohani, Lalit Kishore,** Inspector of Schools, Bhilwara.

68. **Shri Mathur, I.S.,** Headmaster, Govt. Higher Secondary School, Ajmer.

69. **Dr. Mehta, M.S.,** Seva Mandir, Udaipur.

70. **Shri Pareek, Prabhu Lal,** Principal, Vidya Bhawan Rural Institute, Udaipur.

71. **Shri Pareek, Sita Sahai,** Dy. Director of Adult Education, U.K. Range, Udaipur.

72. **Shri Soni, R.N.,** Organiser, Adult Education, Govt. Sadul M.P. Higher Secondary School, Bikaner.

73. **Miss Wali, Usha Sundri,** Asstt. Director of Education, Government of Rajasthan, Bikaner.

TAMIL NADU

74. **Shri Dakshinamoorthi, N.,** Secretary, State Council of Adult Education, 2 Ramalinga Mission Road, Madras.

75. **Shri Muthananthan, K. Kadapakkam,** Madras.

76. **Shri Raghupathy, K.**, Secretary, State Nomadic Tribes Welfare Association, 2/A Valluvan Street, Madras-21.

77. **Shri Shanth Raj, S.**, Adult Literacy Teacher, 2/16 Kumarappa Mudali Street, Nangaumbakkam, Madras 34.

78. **Smt. Shanth Raj S.**, Adult Literacy Teacher, 2/16 Kumarappa Mudali Street Nangaumbakkam, Madras 34.

79. **Shri Sundraesan, R.**, 18, Pinjala Subramania Road, T. Nagar, Madras.

UTTAR PRADESH

80. **Shri Bose, N.C.**, Vice-Principal, Gandhian Institute of Studies, Rajghat, Varanasi.

81. **Shri Pande, B.M.**, Registrar, Gandhian Institute of Studies, Rajghat, Varanasi.

82. **Shri Tripathi, Virendra,** Head, Training Deptt., Literacy House, P.O. Singarnagar, Lucknow.

83. **Smt. Trivedi, Sheela,** Head, Field Work Deptt. (Women), Literacy House, P.O, Singarnagar, Lucknow.

WEST BENGAL

84. **Shri Chatterjee, Simanta Naryan,** Bengal Social Service League, 1/6 Raja Dinendra St., Calcutta.

85. **Shri Chaudhuri Gopobrata,** Extension Officer, Social Education, Shyampura Distt. Howrah.

86. **Shri De, Dhananjoy,** Extension Officer, West Bengal Social Education Organisers' Association, 191/1 Bipan Behari Ganguly St., Calcutta 12.

87. **Shri Debnath, Bhola Nath,** Extension Officer, West Bengal Social Education Organisers' Association, 191/1 Bipin Behari Ganguly St., Calcutta

88. **Shri Ghosh, Subhas Chandra,** Extension Officer, Social Education, West Bengal Social Education Organisers' Association, 191/1 Bipin Behari Ganguly St., Calcutta.

89. **Shri Guha, Nihar Ranjan,** Extension Officer, Social Education, Amta II Block, P.O. Amta, Howrah Distt.

90. **Smt. Gupta, Sunila,** 213 Rash Behary Avenue, Calcutta-19.

91. **Shri Maitra Satyendra Nath,** Hony. General Secretary, Bengal Social Service League, 1/6 Raja Dinendra St., Calcutta 9.

92. **Shri Mukherjee, Nalini,** 11/B Ram Mohan Bere Lane, Calcutta, 46.

93. **Shri Roy, Kali Pada,** West Bengal Social Education Organisers' Association, 191/1 Bipin Behari Ganguly St., Calcutta 12.

94. **Smt. Sen, Minoti,** Saroj Nalini Training College, Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association, 23/1 Ballyganj Station, Calcutta.

95. **Shri Sengupta, Anupam,** West Bengal Social Education Organisers, Association, 191/1 Bipin Behari Ganguly St., Calcutta.

UNESCO

99. **Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah,** Deputy Director-General of UNESCO, Paris.

OFFICE-BEARERS

Director	**Dr. L.M. Singhvi**
Secretary	**Shri J.A. Ryan**
Administrative Coordinator	**Shri N.R. Gupta**
Chief Rapporteur	**Shri J.L. Sachdeva**
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	Shri B.R. Patil
	Shri P.K. Agnihotri
	Shri Maganbhai Desai
	Prof. M.M. Begg
Group Rapporteurs :	**Shri S.R. Mohsini**
	Shri N.C. Bose
	Shri N.K. Pant
	Shri Virendra Tripathi
	Miss Usha Sundri Wali.

Programme

Thursday, December 26, 1968

10.00 to 11.45 a.m. **Inaugural Function**:

1. Invocation Song
2. Welcome Address—Dr. D.J. Reddy
3. Inaugural Address—Dr. M.S. Adiseshiah.
4. Messages.
5. Seminar Director's Address—Dr. L.M. Singhvi.
6. Presidential Address—Shri B.D. Jatti, Lt. Governor, Pondicherry.
7. Vote of Thanks—Dr. M.S. Mehta.
8. National Anthem.

12.00 noon to 1.00 p.m. **First Plenary Session**

(*a*) Discussion and Finalization of Working Paper.

(*b*) Formation of Groups and Committees.

2.30 to 3.00 p.m. **Second Plenary Session**

Elucidation of Item No. 1 of the Working Paper.

3.00 to 5.00 p.m. Group Discussion on Item No. 1.
6.00 p.m. Reception by Lt. Governor, Pondicherry.

Friday, December 27, 1968

10.00 to 11.00 a.m. **Third Plenary Session**

1. Discussion on Group Reports on Item No. 1.
2. Elucidation of Item No. 2 of the Working Paper.

11.15 a.m. to 1.00 p.m. Group Discussion on Item No. 2.

2.30 to 3.00 p.m.	**Fourth Plenary Session** Elucidation of Item No. 3 of the Working Paper.
3.00 to 5.00 p.m.	Group Discussion on Item No. 3.
6.00 p.m.	Variety Entertainment.

Saturday, December 28, 1968

10.30 to 11.30 a.m.	**Fifth Plenary Session** Discussion on Group Reports on Item No. 2 and 3.
11.45 a.m. to 12.30 p.m.	**Sixth Plenary Session** Elucidation of Item No. 4 and 5 of the Working Paper.
2.00 to 5.00 p.m.	Group Discussion on Item No. 4 and 5.
5.30 p.m.	Visit to the International Centre of Education—Shri Aurobindo Ashram.

Sunday, December 29, 1968

9.30 to 11.30 a.m.	**Seventh Plenary Session** Discussion on Group Reports on Item No. 4 and 5.
11.45 a.m. to 1.00 p.m.	Finalization of the Seminar Report.
2.30 to 4.00 p.m.	**Eighth Plenary Session** *Closing Function* 1. Director's Report. 2. Recommendations. 3. Valedictory Address—Shri B.D. Jatti, Lt. Governor, Pondicherry. 4. Vote of Thanks—Shri N.R. Gupta. 5. National Anthem.

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